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The Genesis of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean:* A Dissertation concerning the Transactions and Occurrences related to Samuel Hearne's Coppermine River Narrative, including information on his Letters, Journals, Draft Manuscripts, and Published Work

by

Heather Rollason Driscoll

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Genesis of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*: A Dissertation concerning the Transactions and Occurrences related to Samuel Hearne's Coppermine River Narrative, including information on his Letters, Journals, Draft Manuscripts, and Published Work submitted by Heather Ann Rollason Driscoll in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

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ABSTRACT

Between 1769 and 1772 fur trader Samuel Hearne made three attempts on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company to locate the long-rumoured Northwest Passage and the northern copper mines in the Canadian Arctic. During the trips, he recorded his experiences in a series of journals. Twenty years later, Hearne submitted a manuscript for publication, having transformed his journals into a narrative describing his adventures as well as reflecting upon two decades of experience managing Churchill, one of the HBC's busiest trading posts. In 1795, Samuel Hearne's *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* was revealed to the public and immediately garnered wide interest. Over two centuries later, the book continues to attract readers. It has become one of the best known examples of early Canadian literature. Historians and anthropologists have utilized Hearne's book for its wealth of observations concerning the Dene; the book is the cornerstone of much of this scholarly literature, particularly regarding the historic Chipewyan. Scholars generally believe that Hearne's observations represent a direct transmission of the events as he witnessed them during his travels. However, Hearne's role in the production of the published journal is a source of debate, some scholars going so far as to argue that a ghost writer was responsible for the majority of the text. The main problem with any theory about the creation of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* is that much about its genesis remains unknown. Through biographical, bibliographical and internal analysis, I have established that Hearne was capable of writing the text, had the motivation and opportunity to do so, and therefore was, indeed, the author.

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I would like to acknowledge the importance of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives to the contents of my thesis. Without this institution, it would have been a great deal more challenging, if not impossible, to have revealed the process by which *A Journey* came to be. My thanks to all of the archival staff, particularly Judith Hudson Beattie, for answering my many questions. I am also grateful for the interlibrary loan services provided by the Toronto Reference Library. Through them I was able to receive and read the HBCA microfilm material.

To my husband Neil, I express my heartfelt joy and gratitude at the very ability to write these acknowledgments. Without your quiet and unwavering support there is little doubt I would have reached this stage of my doctorate. My parents, who have yet to see me graduate from any stage of my post-secondary career, have also constantly encouraged me - in the hopes of eventually seeing me walk across a stage. Their many unofficial "scholarships" have helped me to reach this end. Thanks as well to my siblings and friends for all the little things they did to help me endure this long process.

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INTRODUCTION

Exploration accounts have long entertained readers with a privileged view of remote and otherwise unknowable places and peoples. The explorer as eyewitness presents a powerful and persuasive form of testimony. In the past, readers have generally paid little attention to the impact of the writing and publication processes upon the traveller's descriptions. This oversight is highly problematic for it is in examining these processes that one witnesses how the explorer's observations are often subject to dramatic transformation. Contrary to the assumption that descriptions within published exploration accounts represent a direct window through which the reader envisions the scene in question, these observations are filtered and altered, resulting in highly mediated imagery. Samuel Hearne's *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* provides an excellent case to examine the impact of writing and publishing upon such an account.[1]

Though there is in existence a sizable body of literature about Samuel Hearne and his journal, none of it provides an extensive, thorough, and all-encompassing study of the book's creation. This thesis examines in detail how the writing and publishing processes transformed Hearne's narrative. I resolve many of the puzzles surrounding Hearne's role in these processes. By so doing, I call into question the validity of how certain events and people are portrayed in the published account.

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[1] I want to make two points here. First, throughout this thesis I have chosen to rely upon the text as printed in Richard Glover's edition of Samuel Hearne's *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1958). In my Master's thesis I compared the 1958 edition to the 1795 one and found no differences in wording that pertain to Hearne's descriptions of the Chipewyan. Ian MacLaren has done the same on a general level and found that both Glover and Tyrrell corrected the list of typographical errors originally listed in the front of the 1795 edition. He claims that the one substantive error concerns the direction of Hearne's route. As do I, MacLaren has used Glover's 1958 edition, rather than the 1795 one, to cite text. See Ian S. MacLaren, "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey* from a Bibliographical Perspective," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 31.2 (1993), 25, 27, 30, 32; Heather Rollason, "Studying Under the Influence: the Impact of Samuel Hearne's Journal on the Scholarly Literature about Chipewyan Women" (M.A. thesis, Trent University, 1995), 63; J.B. Tyrrell, editor, *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* (Toronto: The Champlain Society,1911). Second, in cases where I have cited Glover's editorial comments on *A Journey*, I credit him directly, but in cases where I have cited passages from the text of *A Journey*, I have cited Hearne as author. I have employed this reasoning in citing other material, such as Glyndwr William's edition of *Andrew Graham's Observations*.

It is also part of my intent to address the post-structuralist debate concerning the importance of authorial intention in understanding a text. Michel Foucault argued that the author-function "does not refer purely and simply to a real individual, since it can give rise simultaneously to several selves, to several subjects - positions that can be occupied by different classes of individuals."[2] Foucault's interests lay in exploring the ideas generated by the text rather than in establishing the production history of the text. Anthropologists James Clifford and George Marcus believed that "even the best ethnographic texts - serious, true fictions - are systems, or economies of truth. Power and history work through them, in ways their authors cannot fully control."[3] However, I argue that it is not possible to understand the full nature of a text, and the ideas embodied within it, without understanding the author's role in the creation of that text, at least in the case of Hearne and *A Journey*. It is only after documenting the textual production process that one is able to comment more fully on the relationship between author and text.

First published in 1795, *A Journey* tells the story of Samuel Hearne's three attempts to find the long-rumoured North-West Passage through the Canadian Arctic and the location of the northern copper mines. The account contains additional anecdotes and observations from Hearne's twenty-years of service with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) as a sailor, fur trader, and chief factor in Rupert's Land.[4] The book is a key source of information about pre-nineteenth-century Native peoples, particularly the Chipewyan, for Hearne was the first European to spend an extensive amount of time with these people and to record his experiences. To anthropologists and historians, Hearne's extensive observations have represented an authoritative and reliable report on Chipewyan culture prior to substantial influence from European culture, as well as a testimonial to the negative influences that European culture could have upon Native societies in general.[5]

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[2] Michel Foucault, "What is an Author," *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, ed. and intro. by Josué V. Harari (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979), 153. Edward Said espoused a similar philosophy in *Orientalism* (Toronto: Random House of Canda, Ltd., 1979), 94

[3] James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 7.

[4] Rupert's Land was the official name of the HBC's territory and encompassed the water drainage system flowing into Hudson Bay.

Previously, in my Master's thesis, I established the high degree to which anthropologists and historians have relied upon *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* as a primary source of information on the pre-19th-century Chipewyan. Indeed, at the time that most of these works were published, it was generally believed to be unnecessary to consider the context in which published accounts like Hearne's entered the public realm, as suggested by Bruce Trigger: "[f]or most areas the accounts of early explorers have been carefully researched and further study, while not unproductive, seems to have reached the point of diminishing returns."[6] It was entirely acceptable for anthropologist

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[5] Though Hearne's observations derive from his travels in the company of a Chipewyan trading band in the years 1769 to 1772, and from Chipewyan visits to the HBC post Churchill during Hearne's residence in Rupert's Land from 1767 to 1787, scholars often use his descriptions to refer to a time a great many years preceding Hearne's journey into the Arctic. In reference to Hearne's account James G.E. Smith suggested that "[a]n unusually high amount of information is available for the period in which the Chipewyan had limited contact with the English at Churchill, and when sociocultural change was minimal." See "Chipewyan," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 6 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 274. Anthropologist David Smith concurred regarding the importance of this account: "the best early published accounts of Chipewyan culture available to us are those of Samuel Hearne and these were written nearly one hundred years after the Chipewyan began to experience some effects of fur trade activities." See *Moose-Deer Island House People: A History of the Native People of Fort Resolution*, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper #81 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1982), 4. See also Heather Rollason, "Studying Under the Influence: The Impact of Samuel Hearne's Journal on the Scholarly Literature About Chipewyan Women" (M.A. thesis, Trent University, 1995), particularly Chapter 4: "A Literary Mapping of the Academic Discourse on Chipewyan Women..."

[6] Bruce Trigger, "Introduction," *Le Castor Fait Tout: Selected Papers from the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1985*, eds. Bruce G. Trigger, Toby Morantz, Louise Dechêne (Montreal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987), 11. Currently documentary editing is falling under more rigorous scholarly attention. The

James Van Stone to stipulate: "Hearne's report is notable not only as the account of a truly amazing piece of exploration, but as a mine of information on the Chipewyan Indians with whom he traveled."[7] Wendall Oswalt concurred: "Hearne's book is the standard source on the Chipewyan as they lived soon after historic contact. It is indispensable reading for any serious attempt to understand the culture of these people."[8] James G.E. Smith, who has published extensively on the history and culture of the Chipewyan, also agreed: "Hearne's narrative (1958) is the major source for conditions in the interior."[9]

At the time of my Master's degree I focused on examining depictions of Chipewyan gender relations in *A Journey*, for it was these images that readers in past and present found the most alluring and disturbing.[10] For example, historian Hugh Dempsey commented: "[t]hose who visited the Chipewyans during the Eighteenth Century felt that the place of women was inferior to that of other tribes. She was the beast of burden who carried the family possessions or pulled the toboggan; the men had the reputation of beating their wives unmercifully."[11] James Parker, in a study of Chipewyan interaction in

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bibliographic context for Canadian exploration literature is being studied by scholars from a variety of disciplines, such as Jennifer Brown (Anthropology, Native Studies), Ian S. MacLaren (English, Canadian Studies), William Moreau (English), and Germaine Warkentin (English).

[7] James VanStone, *The Snowdrift Chipewyan* (Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963), 6; also cited and with further discussion in Rollason, "Studying Under the Influence," 118.

[8] Wendall H. Oswalt, *This Land was Theirs: A Study of the North American Indian* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), 62; see Rollason (120-21) for further discussion.

[9] James G.E. Smith, "Local Band Organization of the Caribou Eater Chipewyan in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 7.1 (1976), 75; see also Rollason, 131.

[10] On the portrayal of Chipewyan women in the early reviews see Rollason, 49-50. I trace the development of an academic discourse about Chipewyan women, that stems from *A Journey*, in "Studying Under the Influence," 100-136.

[11] H.A. Dempsey, "The Chipewyan Indians," *Glenbow* 7.1 (Jan. - Feb. 1974), 5.

the fur trade, surmised: "Plundering women and wives was another trait of Chipewyan culture...It appears that the treatment of women was a reason why most traders regarded the Chipewyans as a lowly tribe."[12] Parker referred to *A Journey* in each illustration of gender relations; for example, regarding the practice of wrestling for wives Parker stated: "wrestling was a common form of plundering women and Hearne gives some amusing accounts of this custom."[13] Historian Sylvia Van Kirk, in her ground-breaking study on the role of Native women in the fur trade, also cited *A Journey* in support of her depiction of the Chipewyan: "[p]articularly abhorrent was the Chipewyan custom of wrestling for wives; the woman, whatever her own wishes, became the prize of the victor."[14]

Very few scholars studying the Chipewyan have contested the validity of Hearne's depictions in the published account; however, there are a couple of exceptions. Walter Hlady contended that the accuracy of fur traders' and missionaries' descriptions of Chipewyan gender relations was limited: "[t]hese biases would likely include the views of religious groups attempting to evangelize a 'heathen' people; the natural biases of a male describing females and their activities; and a fur trader reporting on trade to a home office. Almost none of the accounts are by trained anthropologists."[15] Yet despite his own cautionary words, Hlady went on to cite Hearne's published narrative and other secondary sources that also relied chiefly upon *A Journey*.[16] Henry Sharp also questioned the reliability of some of the imagery in Hearne's narrative. Sharp argued that certain images associated with the Chipewyan were "erroneous" and that the source of these misconceptions lay with "[e]arly accounts, particularly Hearne (1971)."[17] Sharp's suspicions derived from what he perceived as dissonance between the images from *A Journey* and those woven into Chipewyan oral teachings as well as those taken from his own anthropological observations. While there is good reason to be suspicious of the imagery within *A Journey*, it is for reasons in addition to those listed by Hlady and Sharp.

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[12] James McPherson Parker, "The Fur Trade and the Chipewyan Indian," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3.1 (1972), 49-50.

[13] Parker cites Hearne (1958, pp 67-68), 50.

[14] Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties - Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980), 24. She cites Hearne (1958), 69.

[15] Walter M. Hlady, "Recent Changes in Marriage Patterns Among the Churchill Chipewyans" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972), 21.

[16] Hlady, specifically the chapter "The Institution of Marriage during the early Fur Trade Period 1700-1850...". For a discussion on how Hlady used *A Journey* see Rollason, 127-28.

A Journey (1795) entered the public realm at the height of popular interest in travel and exploration literature.[18] Indeed, this type of literature was the main method through which Europeans learned of foreign places: "[i]n this sense, travelling was not primarily a physical activity: it was an epistemological strategy, a mode of knowing."[19] Readers were attracted to this literature based on the assumption that the account represented the explorer's immediate personal experience.[20] Based on this presumption, "[d]escriptions from travel accounts served as some of the most powerful ammunition in the century's theological battles over pagan gods, natural religion, and human nature."[21] To fulfill readers' expectations, writers, editors, and publishers worked together to make such accounts appealing. To succeed meant that the accounts underwent varying degrees of modification. Typically, eighteenth-century published accounts of exploration and travel followed a formula known as "pleasurable instruction, " meaning that they contained both entertaining and informative elements. According to Charles Batten Jr, reviewers applauded literature that followed this formula; indeed, it is precisely these elements that early reviewers found most enticing about *A Journey*.[22] However, in the process of writing and publishing, other elements were incorporated into these accounts that were designed specifically to draw readers in: "each traveller's tale presents a series of manipulations as it attempts to convince its readers of the truth of its discourse."[23] Usually such accounts began with a statement attesting to the truth of the text. Even accounts that were deliberately and blatantly fictional followed this standard format. Publishers included these appealing statements because audiences wanted to believe these travellers' tales.[24] According to Ian MacLaren, who has published a number of works on the impact of publishing upon travel literature, publishers actively shaped these supposed eye-witness accounts:

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[17] Henry Sharp, *Chipewyan Marriage*, National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper #58 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979), 4, 39, 40. For more on Sharp's use of Chipewyan oral teachings see "Man: Wolf: Woman: Dog," *Arctic Anthropology* 13.1 (1976), 25-34; "The Null Case: the Chipewyan," *Woman the Gatherer*, ed. Frances Dahlberg (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1981); and especially *The Transformation of Bigfoot: Maleness, Power, and Belief Among the Chipewyan*, Smithsonian Series in Ethnographic Inquiry (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

[18] On the popularity of travel literature at this time see Charles Batten Jr, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1978), 1; Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars: 1660-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 223. Bruce Greenfield concurs: he provides some examples of the speed by which editions of travel literature sold out and the amount writers and editors received to produce such works. See Greenfield, "The Rhetoric of British and American Narratives of Exploration," *Dalhousie Review* 65.1 (1985), 65, endnote 2.

[19] Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), 69; see also Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 3.

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[20] Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction*, 4.

[21] Batten, 1.

[22] Batten, 25, 28. See also Rollason, "Studying Under the Influence," 47. For example, the report in *The Monthly Review* (July 1796) paraphrases Hearne's own words: "Mr.H.'s...purpose was not to write for the information of critics in that science [geography] but for the entertainment of candid and indulgent readers." In addition, the reviewers comment on Hearne's contribution to general knowledge about the "modes of life, manners, and customs of the natives...In expectation of thus being gratified, we have perused Mr. H.'s journal, and have not been disappointed." See *The Monthly Review* (July 1796), 246-47. Other contemporary reviews are discussed by Rollason on pages 48 through 50.

[23] Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 42. This topic is discussed in greater detail in Rollason, "Studying Under the Influence,"40-42.

> In studying the pre-twentieth century explorers of and travellers in what is now Canada, one frequently comes to the realization that the narratives published in England over these people's names reflect the taste of the readership of the day as much as they yield insights into the experience of wilderness. The persona of the traveller was made over in the image that his publisher had of what the readership wanted.[25]

The accounts tended to be presented in the first person because this tone created the impression of immediacy and intimacy: both the reader and explorer then simultaneously shared an experience.[26]

Given these basic, and apparently standard, publishing treatments of travel literature, we must reconsider how to treat the imagery from such accounts. Ian MacLaren insists that "the idea of reliability, or, at least, the reliability in an empirical sense, of travel narratives must be regarded as a tenuous prospect."[27] In one case he demonstrated how some of the descriptions added by editor and ghost writer Bishop John Douglas into *A Voyage To the Pacific Ocean...Written by Captain James Cook* (1784) became accepted truths:

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[24] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 88; originally cited in Rollason, "Studying Under the Influence," 45.

[25] Ian S. MacLaren, "The Metamorphosis of Travellers into Authors: The Case of Paul Kane," *Critical Issues in Editing Exploration Texts*, ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 67.

[26] Batten, 3-4; Greenfield, "The Rhetoric of British and American Narratives of Exploration," 56.

[27] MacLaren, "Exploring Canadian Literature: Samuel Hearne and the Inuit Girl," *Probing Canadian Culture*, eds. Peter Easingwood, Konrad Gross and Wolfgang Kloob (Augsburg: AV-Verlag, 1991), 92.

> Thus does the transmission of a text - Cook's Journal - inform and confirm the ideologies of the home culture when it is prepared/improved/elevated for the press of that culture. By writing into Cook's first person narrative...what he perceived to be the understandings and hopes of his age and nation, Douglas rendered his adventurer as much a transmitter as a discoverer. For nearly two centuries, Douglas' Nootka, not Cook's, awaited visitors to Vancouver Island.[28]

These published images are powerful not just because readers find them believable, but because those in positions of authority make decisions concerning the subjects of the imagery based upon these deceptive "truths." Scholars find the descriptions in these journals persuasive because they appear to be literal reproductions of actual experiences. However, the use of imagery from published exploration accounts is not confined to abstract scholarly debates, for these documents, and indirectly the debates themselves, functioned as the basic background material necessary for the creation and administration of federal government Indian policy and for the constitution of legal decisions affecting Native peoples:

> ...images are frequently more potent determinants of behaviour than "reality" and that Europeans in contact with indigenous people act according to perceptions which are often quite different from what "actually exists." Indigenous society and behaviour is viewed through a cultural filter that distorts "reality" into an image that is more consistent with European preconceptions and purposes. The process is complete when the image becomes more real than "reality" as the basis for policy and action.[29]

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[28] MacLaren, "Exploration / Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 8 (1992), 55-56.

[29] Robin Fisher, "The Image of the Indian," *Out of the Background: Readings in Canadian Native History*, eds. Robin Fisher and Kenneth Coates (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988), 167. On the impact of this imagery upon American and Canadian Indian Policy see Robert Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 113; Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and United States Indian Policy*, (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982); Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992); Peter Kulchyski, "Anthropology in the Service of the State: Diamond Jenness and Canadian Indian Policy," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28 (Summer 1993),

And, as anthropologist Julie Cruikshank has suggested, such links between policy and imagery are common:

> ...the written observations of traders, missionaries and others often became the basis on which policy decisions were made - by the Hudson's Bay Company, by the Church, and by government. In this way, written documents from Europe or from the United Stated [sic] often had real economic and social consequences for the lives of Yukon People.[30]

With the potential, and in some cases proven repercussions, from our use of these images, it seems wise to consider the genesis of these ethnographic descriptions as a mandatory part of interpreting exploration accounts.[31] The heavy degree of scholarly reliance upon *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* for information about the Chipewyan makes a genetic study of this account both logical and necessary.

The degree of scholarly dependence upon Hearne's published account is not the problem, although the fact that Hearne's narrative underlies almost every scholarly discussion of pre-19th-century Chipewyan certainly magnifies it. The source of the problem lies with the production process pertaining to the published narrative, for Hearne's observations, as recorded initially in his journals, change with each attempt to rework the journals into a publishable narrative. Sections are added and deleted. Images are elaborated upon and exaggerated.[32] The precise nature of Hearne's role in the writing

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27. Significantly, much of Jenness' information came from published exploration accounts such as Hearne's.

[30] Julie Cruikshank, *Reading Voices / Dan Dha Ts'edenintthe'e: Oral and Written Interpretations of the Yukon's Past* (Toronto and Vancouver: Douglas and McIntryre, 1991), 101.

[31] MacLaren agrees; see "Exploration / Travel Literature," 43.

[32] I explored some of these differences in Heather Rollason, "Some Comments upon the Marked Differences in the Representations of Chipewyan Women in Samuel Hearne's Field Notes and His Published Journal," *Earth, Water, Air and Fire: Studies in Canadian Ethnohistory*, ed. David T. McNab (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1998), 263-274. I also discussed these differences in my M.A. thesis: see Chapter 3 "A catalogue of images of Chipewyan women in Samuel Hearne's journal," and listed all differences in Appendices 1 and 2.

process has produced considerable debate, with some scholars postulating that Hearne did nothing more than submit his field journals to a ghost writer, while others believe that Hearne himself was responsible for the majority of the text as it appeared in 1795.[33] There are numerous uncertainties about the production and historical veracity of *A Journey*.

In order to understand the mechanics of the narrative's production, I have provided the context related to the main parts of the text: namely, its raison d'être, specifically the nature of the HBC's journal-keeping style and record storing policies; its subject matter, the century-long search for the mythical northern copper mines and Hearne's three attempts to reach them; its author, Samuel Hearne; and its composition - the when and how of Hearne's editorial efforts.[34] The HBC kept detailed records of its business activities in Rupert's Land and it is by studying how the company dealt with its records that I provide an explanation for the disappearance of Hearne's original journal and his subsequent reports to his employers. This study also indicates the means by which various transcribed fragments of Hearne's narrative proliferated. A thorough examination of the HBC's search for mineral wealth in Rupert's Land, and a water route through the continent, provides necessary background to Hearne's trek to the Coppermine River. A study of Hearne's life, particularly surrounding his time spent in the employ of the HBC, provides insight into his personality and motivations: key aspects to comprehending his role in the writing process. It also reveals opportunities he had to focus on reworking his Coppermine River journals. The remainder of this introduction provides background information helpful in negotiating this thesis.

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[33] The idea that a ghost writer produced the final manuscript began in the nineteenth century with John Richardson. See Richard Glover, "A Note on John Richardson's Digression concerning Hearne's Route," *Canadian Historical Review*, 32 (1951), 253. The root of scholarly debate on Hearne's abilities as a writer is based in part on the substantial difference between the writing style Hearne demonstrated in some of his other journals, such as the two Cumberland House journals, and the style of the 1795 narrative. Based on the assumption that Hearne's journal writing style was totally indicative of his abilities, many scholars, such as J.B. Tyrrell, Glover, MacLaren, and Mary Hamilton have supposed that some one other than Hearne altered the text in a significant manner. See Richard Glover, "Editor's Introduction, " *A Journey* (1958), xxx-xxxi; Mary Hamilton, "Samuel Hearne," *Profiles in Canadian Literature*, ed. Jeffrey Heath, vol. 3 (Toronto and Charlottetown: Dundurn Press, 1982), 12; MacLaren, "Exploring Canadian Literature," 92; MacLaren, "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre at Bloody Fall, 17 July 1771," *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature*, 22.1 (1991), 41; Ian Stone "Profile: Samuel Hearne," *Polar Record* 23, 142 (1986), 55; J.B. Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1911), 18). This debate is covered in greater detail in Chapter 4, which addresses Hearne's writing preferences, and Chapter 5, which examines the textual relationship between the surviving manuscript excerpts of the Coppermine River narrative.

[34] I will not be exploring in detail the role of publisher and printer Andrew Strahan and Thomas Cadell in the production of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* in this dissertation. This topic is addressed briefly in the Epilogue.

Setting the Stage: Churchill Post, Native Traders, and Samuel Hearne

Samuel Hearne spent most of his time in Rupert's Land stationed at the HBC's gateway to the north and its second largest post, Churchill (see map of the region on the next page).[35] By the mid-eighteenth century, as a result of the intrusions by Canadian traders into the HBC's southwestern territory, the company explored alternative ventures to bolster the loss of its lucrative haul of pelts. Much of the governing London Committee's hopes for diversification rested with Churchill, from where it hoped to develop a whaling industry, seek out and control a navigable water route through the North American continent, and locate the northern copper mines that it believed lay alongside this waterway. The sea and land north and west of Churchill seemed to contain the keys to the HBC's economic salvation.

Nearly a half-century earlier, the HBC had located Churchill strategically on the boundary between Cree and Chipewyan homelands. The company's earlier attempts to attract the Chipewyan to trade at York Factory, located further to the south in Cree territory, had failed because the Chipewyan expressed reluctance to travel into their enemy's homeland. In 1715, York's chief factor, James Knight, authorized William Stewart to travel into Chipewyan territory with a party of Cree led by a Chipewyan

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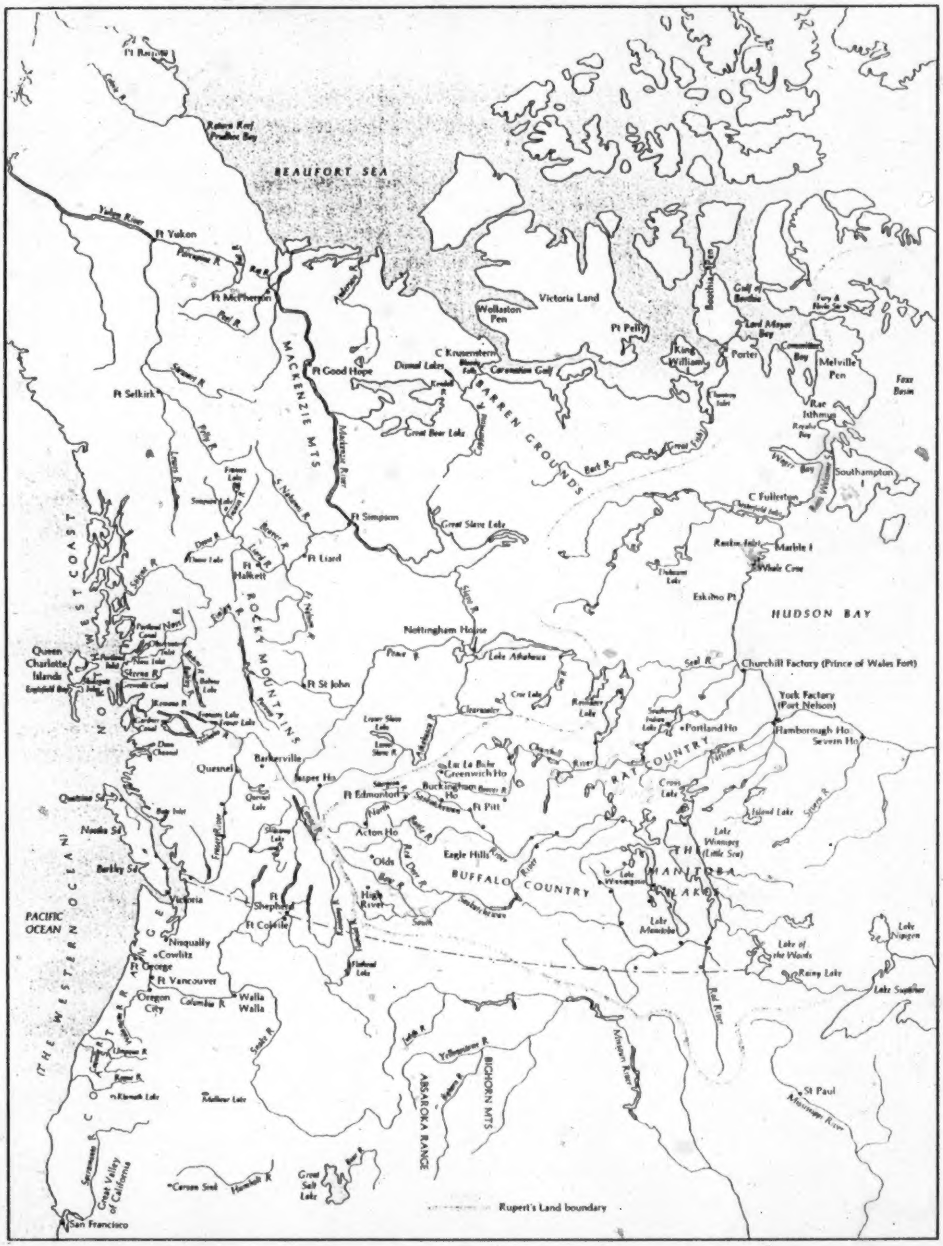
[35] After 1719 the post was renamed Fort Prince of Wales, but the HBC also continued to refer to it as Churchill. In this thesis, I have chosen to refer to the post as Churchill.

Figure 1: Map of Region Northwest of Hudson Bay


BEAUFORT SEA
Ft Yukon
Yukon River
Ft McPherson
Ft Good Hope
MACKENZIE MTS
Mackenzie River
Ft Selkirk
Ft Simpson
Ft Liard
Ft Halkett
Great Bear Lake
Great Slave Lake
Victoria Land
Wollaston Pen
Ft Pelly
C Krusenstern
Dismal Lakes
Coronation Gulf
BARREN GROUNDS
King William I
Porter
Gulf of Boothia
Lord Mayor Bay
Committee Bay
Melville Pen
Foxe Basin
Rae Isthmus
Repulse Bay
Wager Bay
Southampton I
C Fullerton
Chesterfield Inlet
Rankin Inlet
Marble I
Whale Cove
Eskimo Pt
HUDSON BAY
Seal R
Churchill Factory (Prince of Wales Fort)
York Factory (Port Nelson)
Hamborough Ho
Severn Ho
Nottingham House
Lake Athabasca
Clearwater
Portland Ho
RAT COUNTRY
Cross Lake
Island Lake
Lake Winnipeg (Little Sea)
MANITOBA LAKES
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake Manitoba
Lake of the Woods
Rainy Lake
Lake Nipigon
Lake Superior
Red River
St Paul
Mississippi River
Missouri River
BUFFALO COUNTRY
Eagle Hills
Ft Pitt
Buckingham Ho
Greenwich Ho
Lac La Biche
Ft Edmonton
Acton Ho
Olds
High River
Jasper Ho
Ft St John
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
Barkerville
Quesnel
Ft Shepherd
Ft Colville
Flathead Lake
NORTHWEST COAST
Queen Charlotte Islands
Skeena R
Nass R
Queen Charlotte Sd
Nootka Sd
Barkley Sd
Victoria
PACIFIC OCEAN
THE WESTERN OCEAN
Nisqually
Cowlitz
Ft George
Ft Vancouver
Oregon City
Columbia R
Walla Walla
Snake R
Klamath Lake
Malheur Lake
Great Valley of California
Sacramento R
San Francisco
Carson Sink
Humboldt R
Great Salt Lake
ABSAROKA RANGE
BIGHORN MTS
Yellowstone R
Rupert's Land boundary

Map "West of Hudson Bay and the Great Lakes, the Arctic Shores" taken from Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping 1670-1870* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), xv.

woman, Thanadelthur. She brokered a peace between the two peoples and later enticed the Chipewyan to trade with the HBC by promising them they would have a safe place to exchange goods.[36] A few years later the HBC opened Churchill, and although the company intended to reserve it explicitly for the Chipewyan, from the post's beginning the Cree played a significant role in its daily operations.

At Churchill's inception, employees relied almost exclusively upon the Cree for the assistance with hunting, delivery of mail and supplies between posts, mediation with other Native peoples, translation, and the manufacturing of clothing and equipment.[37] HBC personnel often referred to the Cree who filled these roles as "home Indians", or as the homeguard. Some of these early interactions are documented in the Churchill Post journals. The post's first "home Indian" was a Cree man known as "Factory the Indian." In 1718 James Knight brought him, along with his wife, from York to Churchill and then gave him the additional title of Captain of Churchill River. He was one of the Cree who had accompanied Thanadelthur and William Stewart on the earlier expedition to end hostilities between the Chipewyan and Cree.[38] Factory prospered in this role, for soon his family expanded to 16 members, which included numerous wives. In 1724 Factory gave up his hunting job due to age and health, now relying on his wives' work to obtain food and desired trade items. Eventually, the chief factor granted him residence at the fort in exchange for his years of service. Factory disappeared from the record books after the spring of 1731.[39] Next, "Churchill the Indian" arrived at Churchill in the summer of 1753. A captive belonging to a group of inland Cree, Churchill had been acquired by Chief Factor Ferdinand Jacobs who renamed him as above a few months later.[40] Though the purpose of the post was to cater to the Chipewyan, it was the Cree who lived nearby or most frequently visited Churchill and this state of affairs remained up to and including Samuel Hearne's tenure with the HBC.

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[36] Kerry Abel provides a detailed description of Thanadelthur and the opening of Churchill in *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 49-54.

[37] Initially Churchill's homeguard came directly from York, and these people would have been Maskegan or Swampy Cree. The role was later embraced by local Cree, most likely the Rocky Cree, also known as the Great Water Indians and Missinippi Cree, who lived in the territory defined by Churchill River drainage system. See James G.E. Smith, "Chipewyan, Cree and Inuit Relations West of Hudson Bay, 1714-1955," *Ethnohistory* 28.2 (1981), 138, 140. The earliest reference at Churchill to the Cree in this role occurs on 26 June 1719. See HBCA B.42/a/1 fo 52, Churchill Post Journal.

[38] HBCA B.42/a/3 fo 18d, Churchill Post Journal, 30 March 1723.

While the Chipewyan found it safer to travel to Churchill than York, they knew that they were still likely to encounter their Cree enemies at Churchill. For this reason, the Chipewyan rarely stayed at the post for longer than one night, and often tried to leave within hours of their arrival. Other Natives, like the Cree and Ojibwa, typically stayed at a post for a minimum of a few days up to a maximum of a couple of weeks. But throughout the eighteenth century, Chipewyan women and children stayed at a camp at least a day or two travelling distance away from the fort to ensure that they would be safe from capture by the Cree while their male relatives traded with the HBC.[41] It was unusual for entire Chipewyan families to arrive at Churchill. This practice was the result of periodic robberies and murders by the Cree upon the Chipewyan near Churchill throughout the eighteenth century, despite the peace established by Thanadelthur in 1715.

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[39] HBCA B.42/a/1 fo 23, Churchill Post Journal 12 September 1718; B.42/a/2 fo 39, Churchill Post Journal, 19 March 1722; B.42/a/5 fo 4, Churchill Post Journal, 9 September 1724; B.42/a/10 fo 24, Churchill Post Journal, 31 May 1731. The new chief factor at the time, Anthony Beale, was less inclined to provide names and local events in the post journal; thus, his minimalist journal keeping style may explain why Factory disappears from the records after Beale takes control.

[40] HBCA B.42/a/40 fo 62, Churchill Post Journal, 21 July 1753; B.42/a/42 fos 9, 19d, 20, 27, 42d, 19 October 1753, 11 and 13 January, 17 March , 13 July 1754; B.42/a/44 fos 8d, 20d, 29, 38, Churchill Post Journal, 7 November 1754, 9 February, 29 April, 8 June 1755; B.42/a/46 fos 32d, 39d, 40, 41, 42d, Churchill Post Journal, 8 May , 27 June, 1, 6, 8, and 16 July 1756.

[41] During Hearne's third attempt to reach the copper mines he learned that the more northwestern group of Chipewyan often left the majority of their families at a place he called Island Lake, located at a distance of three weeks travelling from Churchill. See Hearne (1958), 46.

Identifying the Chipewyan in the historic records can be confusing, and the challenge derives largely from a loose and variable nomenclature. The Chipewyan identify themselves as belonging to a large family of peoples known as the Dene, who generally inhabit the Western Subarctic of Canada between Hudson Bay and the Rocky Mountains. The name "Chipewyan" purportedly was derived from the Cree word meaning "pointed skins," in reference to the hood attached to the typical Dene coat or tunic.[42] The HBC referred to the Dene in general as Northern or Far Northern Indians. This term was meant to distinguish them from those they called Southern Indians, an inclusive term for the Cree and Ojibwa. However, the HBC did differentiate one group of Dene from the rest, those they called the Copper Indians, probably because of the apparent proximity of this group to the then still-unlocated and much-sought-after northern copper mines.

According to historian Kerry Abel, the Dene consist of a series of nations, each one identified with a specific geographical region, who share related languages and a similar way of life. The basic unit of the Dene society is the band, which varies in size from one nuclear family to multiple extended family groups. During the eighteenth century, bands came together for brief periods of time to form camps of over one hundred people. These large gatherings typically occurred during the summer at choice fishing or caribou-hunting locations.[43] Because of these shared cultural features, it was not unusual to find individuals from one Dene nation living in a band belonging to another nation. At what point bands forged a broader sense of identity, in terms of differentiating themselves as Chipewyan versus Dogrib versus Copper Indians, is indeed murky. According to Abel, evidence from HBC documents suggests that by the mid to late eighteenth century these concepts were in place, but most likely it was because by then that the fur traders had gained a more nuanced understanding of Dene relations, not that the Dene's sense of themselves had necessarily changed.[44]

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[42] Abel, *Drum Songs*, 37.

[43] Abel, *Drum Songs*, 18-20. Abel notes that Thanadelthur reported seeing up to 100 tents of Chipewyan camped together at one point, and that Hearne travelled with about 150 Chipewyan during the summer of 1771. Abel defines the Dene nations in much greater detail in *Drum Songs*, see particularly "Introduction," xiv-xviii.

It is because of the similarities and fluidity among the Dene that scholars have found it difficult to trace separation between the nations. For example, the term "Yellowknives" can be used to refer either to the Copper Indians or the Chipewyan who live in the northwestern part of the subarctic region. However these two peoples did not view themselves as one group; for example, Matonabbee, one of the more northwesterly Chipewyan, recognized the Copper Indians as distinct from his own people. Scholars sometimes employ the term "Caribou-Eaters" in reference either to the Chipewyan in general, or to denote the Chipewyan living closer to Hudson Bay.[45] For the purposes of this dissertation I will use "Chipewyan" to refer collectively to both eastern and western groups. In order to avoid the confusion associated with the terms "Yellowknives" and "Caribou-Eaters", I shall refer to distinctions between the two groups of Chipewyan by geographical region. I shall employ "Dene" as an inclusive term for the Chipewyan, Dogrib, and others sharing these related languages and ways of life.

Churchill traded with Chipewyan from two different broadly defined regions of the Western Subarctic. One group resided due north of Churchill beginning at Seal River and into the territory also used by the Caribou Inuit. In the winter, these Chipewyan lived in the forests around Lake Wollaston, Reindeer Lake, and Seal River. In the summer they moved onto the tundra, matching the seasonal movements of their chief form of subsistence, the Kaminuriak population of caribou, with some variety provided by fish and geese. These people travelled regularly to Churchill without hardship. Individuals from this group had cultivated a close trading and hunting relationship with the post since its inception in 1717, but did not set up semi-permanent camps adjacent to the post: this space was occupied by their traditional enemies, the Cree. By the nineteenth century they were known as the Churchill Band or Duck Lake Band of Chipewyan.[46]

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[44] Abel, *Drum Songs*, 20. For an example of Matonabbee's understanding of the relationship between his own people and others, see Hearne (1958), 91.

[45] For example, Robert Janes uses "Yellowknives" to refer to the western Chipewyan and "Caribou-Eaters" for the eastern group; see Janes, "Indian and Eskimo Contact in Southern Keewatin: An Ethnohistorical Approach," *Ethnohistory* 20.1 (1973), 41. In contrast, James Smith and Ernest Burch Jr, citing numerous earlier publications, maintain that the Yellowknives were distinct from the Chipewyan. For them, "Caribou-Eaters" is a synonymous term for all Chipewyan. See Ernest Burch Jr and James G.E. Smith, "Chipewyan and Inuit in the Central Canadian Subarctic, 1613-1977," *Arctic Anthropology* 16.2 (1979), 77. Later, Smith revises his stance to agree with Janes; see James Smith "Chipewyan, Cree and Inuit Relations," 137. For more on this topic see Lorraine E. Brandson, *From Tundra to Forest: A Chipewyan Resource Manual*, (Winnipeg: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, 1981), 3; Keith J. Crowe, *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada*, rev. ed. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 48, 78; David Smith, *Moose-Deer Island House People*, 4-5.

This eastern group of Chipewyan visited the post regularly in spring and fall for the goose hunts and in the winter to exchange fresh meat for HBC goods. They came less frequently in the summer in part because of the tense relationship between themselves and the large groups of incoming Cree traders, and also because of the increased difficulty in transportation. Unlike most of the other Native peoples who frequented HBC posts, the Chipewyan did not use boats as a primary means of travelling, preferring instead to go on foot; thus, it was much easier for them to reach Churchill once the waterways became frozen.[47]

The names of eastern Chipewyan trading captains are often recorded in HBC documents, most likely because of their regular contact with Churchill employees. Longchin, a trader at Churchill during the 1750s, helped to establish peace between the eastern Chipewyan and another group of longstanding rivals, the Caribou Inuit who lived along the western shores of Hudson Bay.[48] Prior to the establishment of trade with the HBC ships, these two peoples met only periodically in summer when they both hunted the caribou migrating from the woods onto the tundra. In the mid-eighteenth century, when the HBC began to send sloops annually along the west coast of Hudson Bay, the two peoples encountered each other more regularly at pre-arranged trading locations.[49] For the most part, sloop and post journal records from Churchill indicate that these encounters were peaceful.[50] Another eastern Chipewyan, Heas'thee, first came to Churchill as a goose hunter and winter trader. His involvement with the HBC intensified when the London Committee ordered Chief Factor Moses Norton to develop the sloop trade with the Inuit and Chipewyan in the early 1760s and Norton appointed Heas'thee as the chief trader for those Chipewyan who planned to rendezvous with the sloop in late summer. Norton also requested that Heas'thee represent the Chipewyan in the ongoing peace negotiations with the coastal Inuit. The HBC wanted to ensure that the trading sites at Cape Esquemay and Whale's Cove would be a safe meeting ground for both peoples and thereby encourage a profitable trade. Heas'thee died at Churchill during Hearne's first winter with the HBC.[51] Norton then appointed Chachinahaw as his replacement in the roles of Chipewyan peacekeeper and chief trader with the sloop. Chachinahaw met with the trading sloop in 1768 and 1769, years that Samuel Hearne worked the ships; however, during these voyages Hearne was assigned to the whaling sloop. It is unlikely the two met before the Chipewyan trader led Hearne on his first attempt to find the copper mines.[52]

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[46] David M. Smith, *Moose-Deer Island House People*, 6; James G.E. Smith, "Chipewyan, Cree and Inuit Relations," 135-36.

[47] This observation derives from my reading of the Churchill Post Journals. Kerry Abel and Richard Glover also address the Chipewyan preference to travel by foot; see Abel, *Drum Songs*, 35-36 and Glover, "Introduction," *Letters from Hudson Bay 1703-40* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), xxxv. Hearne witnessed Chipewyan canoe building on his third attempt, but he suggested they used them only to cross rivers not to travel along waterways; see Hearne (1958), 62.

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[48] HBCA B.42/a/36 fo 59, Churchill Post Journal, 15 June 1751. There is mention of Longchin in the 1730s, but it is not clear if this is the same person or evidence of a popular name.

[49] Ernest S. Burch Jr, "The Caribou Inuit," *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995), 119- 120.

[50] Janes, "Indian and Eskimo Contact in Southern Keewatin," 52; and Smith and Burch Jr, "Chipewyan and Inuit in the Central Canadian Subarctic," 76.

[51] HBCA B.42/a/62 fo 69, Churchill Post Journal, 9 June 1765; B.42/a/63 fo 17, Churchill Sloop Journal 1765 by Magnus Johnston; B.42/a/64 fos 12, 12d, 41, Churchill Post Journal, 16 and 17 November 1765, 3 June 1766; B.42/a/67 fos 16, 21d, 29d, 37d, 38, Churchill Post Journal, 7 November and 8 December 1766, 24 January, 12 and 14 March 1767. Heas'thee is also spelled as Hefsty (B.42/a/63 fo 17, Churchill Sloop Journal by Magnus Johnston, 22 July 1765).

Unlike the case for the eastern Chipewyan, the chief traders belonging to the Caribou Inuit preceding and during Hearne's time are not named in eighteenth-century HBC documents. This omission may stem from the difficulty HBC employees seemed to have had in mastering the local Inuit language, Inupik, and thus they must have been able to glean only a limited amount of information about their trading partners.[53] In hopes of ameliorating this language barrier, in 1763 Chief Factor Moses Norton requested that Doll, an Inuit woman who had been residing at York and could speak both English and Inupik, come to live at Churchill and accompany the trading ship in the summer. She performed her translator's duties from 1764 until her death at Churchill in September of 1769.[54] By the time Hearne retired from Hudson Bay in 1787, small groups of coastal

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[52] On Chachinahaw see HBCA B.42/a/70 fo 14, Churchill Post Journal, 12 November 1767; B.42/a/71 fos 27d, 32, Churchill Sloop Journal, 1 and 8 August 1768; B.42/a/ 74 fos 13, 37d, Churchill Post Journal, 10 November 1768, and 13 April 1769; B.42/b/15 fo 3, Churchill Correspondence Book, 17 January 1769; B.42/a/75 fo 31, Churchill Sloop Journal, 16 July 1769; B.42/a/97 fo 26d, Charlotte Brigantine Journal, 22 July 1778; B.42/a/101 fo 23, Charlotte Brigantine Journal, 11 July 1780. Chachinahaw appears in the documents also spelled as Che-chan-ahaw, Che-chenhae, Chechenawhaw, Chechennehaw, Chee-inshaw, Chechenalia, and Chi'chinn'ah-haw. After failing to lead Hearne to the mines, Chachinahaw appears to have continued in his role as a Chipewyan trading captain and interpreter for the HBC, sailing two more times with the annual northern trading vessel, before disappearing from HBC records.

[53] This is branch of the Inuit language spoken along the western coast of Hudson Bay. See Ernest S. Burch Jr, "The Eskaleuts: A Regional Overview," *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995), 103.

[54] References to the need for a translator and then Doll's participation occur chronologically in HBCA B.42/a/57 fo 19, Churchill Sloop Journal 1762 by William Christopher; B.42/b/9 fo 2, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Moses Norton to Ferdinand Jacobs at York Factory, 4 January 1763; A.11/14 fo 1, London Inward Correspondence from Churchill, Sailing Orders and Instructions for Magnus Johnston by Moses Norton, 17 July 1764; B.42/a/61 fos 1, 1d, 3d, Churchill Sloop Journal 1764 by Magnus Johnston; B.42/a/62 fo 55, Churchill Post Journal, 8 April 1765 on Doll's illness; B.42/a/63 fo 13d, Churchill Sloop Journal 1765 by Magnus Johnston; B.42/a/64 fo 14d, Churchill Post Journal 1765-66; B.42/a/65 fo 13, Churchill Sloop Journal 1766 by

Inuit had travelled on foot to Churchill only four times since the HBC had focused on developing a trade with these people in the 1760s. Hearne discouraged such expeditions since the amount of presents given consistently exceeded in value the goods the Inuit brought in for trade.[55]

The other group of Chipewyan, infrequently referred to in the Churchill Post Journals as the Far Northern Indians and mostly as Northern Indians, hunted the more northerly Beverly and Bathurst populations of caribou. These people usually followed the herds between Great Slave Lake and the Coppermine River. This was the homeland belonging to Matonabbee, Idotlyazee, and Keelshies: influential traders and negotiators for Churchill post.[56] It was possible for them to travel to Churchill only once every two to three years. Some of their hunting grounds also overlapped with the Inuit, but these were the Copper Inuit who resided along the Arctic coast and also near the Coppermine River.[57] It is not clear that the HBC understood the distinctions between the two different groups

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Magnus Johnston; B.42/a/68 fo 27, Churchill Sloop Journal 1767 by Magnus Johnston; B.42/a/71 fo 19d, Churchill Sloop Journal 1768 by Magnus Johnston; B.42/a/75 fo 26, Churchill Sloop Journal 1769 by Magnus Johnston; B.42/a/77 fo 2, 2d, Churchill Post Journal 13 and 15 September 1769 on Doll's death. See also Olive Dickason, "Three Worlds, One Focus: Europeans Meet Inuit and Amerindians in the Far North," *Rupert's Land: A Cultural Tapestry*, ed. Richard C. Davis (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), 67.

[55] HBCA B.42/a/94 fo 35, Churchill Post Journal, 11-14 June 1777; B.42/a 96 fo 34, Churchill Post Journal, 17 May 1778; B.42/a/102 fos 18-19, Churchill Post Journal, 8-21 May 1781; B.42/a/108 fo 20, Churchill Post Journal 18-20 May 1787. Hearne notes the name of one of the Inuit men who travelled to the post in 1778: Shoo-shea. Apparently he had wintered at Churchill in 1765.

[56] All three men are mentioned fairly frequently in Churchill documents outside of references to the Coppermine River journeys. The one name never mentioned either in regard to this group or the coastal group is Conne-e-quese, who led Hearne on the second attempt. His absence from the documents suggests that he was not an influential presence at the post. Norton's decision to choose him as a guide and protector for Hearne is therefore puzzling.

[57] James Smith, "Chipewyan, Cree and Inuit Relations," 134-136.

of Chipewyan or Inuit.[58] This was the general state of affairs and relations at Churchill when a young man by the name of Samuel Hearne first walked past its stone fortifications.

Born in London, England, in the year 1745, Hearne was named after his father Samuel, an engineer and then Secretary to the London Bridge Water Works. When Samuel Hearne Sr died a few years after his son's birth, young Samuel accompanied his older sister Sarah and mother Diana to Beaminster, in Dorset, Mrs. Hearne's former home.[59] Soon after, Samuel began attending school. In 1757 he finished his formal education and then joined the Royal Navy as a servant to Captain Samuel Hood.[60] Six years later he left the service, thus concluding a second round of education, this time in seamanship. His whereabouts and activities from 1763 to early in 1766 are not known. Then on 12 February the governing London Committee of the HBC noted in the minutes of its weekly meeting that it had "Entertained...Samuel Hearne, as a Sloop Mate at Ł25 p. ann. for 3 years."[61] The London Committee seemed impressed with the skills Hearne had acquired under Captain Hood, as indicated in a letter to one of the sloop masters at

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[58] This ignorance was revealed when Moses Norton assigns Chachinahaw, a trading captain from the eastern group of Chipewyan, to lead Hearne to the northern copper mines, clearly the territory of the more northwestern group. See Chapter One for a more detailed discussion of this point.

[59] There is some debate as to the year of Samuel Hearne Sr's death. C.S. Mackinnon, author of Samuel Hearne Jr's biography in the authoritative *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, suggests that his father expired in 1748, but the source of his conclusion is unclear. In contrast, Richard Glover maintains that the father died in 1750, based on information from *The Bunhill Fields Burial Register*. See C.S. Mackinnon, "Hearne, Samuel," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 339; R. Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), vii. As I have chosen to focus my research on Hearne's life while in the employ of the HBC, I have not looked into this discrepancy or any others occurring prior to 1766.

[60] Hood later received the titles of Lord and Admiral. See Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey*, vii. Mackinnon suggests Hearne joined one year earlier, but he did not appear to have consulted the Naval records as did Glover.

[61] HBCA A.1/42 fo illegible, London Minute Book, 12 February 1766. The HBC typically issued three year contracts.

Churchill, Magnus Johnston: "We....have approved Samuel Hearne to be Mate of the Churchill Sloop, whose Experience We hope will be of material service to you."[62] Sometime that summer Hearne walked on board the ship bound for Churchill to step ashore on the other side of the Atlantic on 22 August 1766.[63]

Samuel Hearne had a successful career in the employ of the HBC, rising from the junior ranks of a sailor to manager (chief factor) of the HBC's second largest trading post. Hearne worked his first three and a half seasons with the sea-based personnel. During the summers, crew members sailed aboard one of the trading ships or whaling vessels. During off-season, they repaired boats and joined the land-based employees on hunting and wood-gathering expeditions. In July 1767 Hearne departed on his first voyage with the HBC since his arrival nearly a year earlier. He served as mate to Captain Magnus Johnston of the trading sloop *Churchill*.[64] They stopped at pre-arranged points along the west coast of Hudson Bay to trade mostly for fresh meat with the Caribou Inuit and eastern Chipewyan. The next two summers Hearne worked aboard the whaling ships and even captained a small sloop on the summer whaling hunt in 1768. By then, he had concluded that the sea-service, particularly whaling, was a most frustrating and dissatisfying branch of the HBC's service.[65] Hearne escaped from this branch when Chief Factor Moses Norton offered the young sailor the opportunity to travel by land to the northern copper mines.

It took Samuel Hearne three attempts to reach the mines. He began the quest on 6 November 1769 and returned to Churchill with a map pinpointing the mines' location on 30 June 1772. He had three different Chipewyan trading captains as guides: Chachinahaw,

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[62] HBCA A.5/1 fo 75, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to Magnus Johnston, 27 May 1766.

[63] HBCA B.42/a/64 fo 54, Churchill Post Journal 1765-66, 22 August 1766.

[64] HBCA B.42/a/68, Churchill Sloop Journal, 3 June to 20 August 1767 - Northern Expedition.

[65] See, for example, HBCA A.11/14 fos 120-120d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 29 August 1769.

Conne-e-quese, and Matonabbee. The first two were unable to meet the HBC's expectations; it was Matonabbee who successfully negotiated Hearne's safe passage to the mines and back to Churchill.[66] While visiting the mines in July of 1771 Hearne also searched for the body of water his superiors believed to be the North-West Passage. He found only a shallow rocky river that flowed northward and emptied into a frozen ocean. The sea of ice seemed an unlikely prospect for a useable east-west waterway through the continent. Furthermore, the nature of the river meant that boats larger than a Chipewyan canoe would be unable to reach the mines, thus ending the HBC's hopes of sailing directly to the site of the mines. The state of the mines themselves added to the list of disappointing findings:

> This mine, if it deserve that appellation, is no more than an entire jumble of rocks and gravel...The Indians who were the occasion of my undertaking this journey, represented this mine to be so rich and valuable, that if a factory were built at the river, a ship might be ballasted with the ore instead of stone...But their account differed so much from the truth, that I and almost all my companions expended near four hours in search of some of this metal, with such poor success, that among us all, only one piece of any size could be found.[67]

Though Hearne failed to deliver the results expected by his employers, his perseverance earned him their respect, which quickly translated into promotions.

Soon after Hearne's return, the London Committee chose him to oversee, with guidance from local Cree, the opening of the HBC's first post in the western interior. Hearne was master of the new Cumberland House until the late summer of 1775 when he received word that the committee had awarded him the position of chief factor at Churchill. Arriving at the post in January 1776, he remained chief factor there until his retirement in 1787.

Samuel Hearne's stay in Rupert's Land was interrupted only once when the French managed to capture and destroy both Churchill and York in August 1782. The French forced HBC personnel from these posts to return to Europe; some sailed directly for England, like Hearne, while others were taken to France but eventually were turned over to the English. The following year Hearne and a small group of craftsmen returned to the rubble that was formerly Churchill and spent an uncomfortable fall and winter as they reconstructed the post and assessed the heavy damage to their trade with the Cree and Chipewyan. The previous fall and winter, during the HBC employees' forced leave of absence, smallpox had exacted a deadly toll upon Native populations throughout the northwest. Churchill lost its trappers, traders, and hunters. The disease caused the Native trade networks to fracture as the alliances woven by peace-keepers, negotiators, and middlemen traders unravelled with their deaths. The number of furs arriving at Churchill diminished greatly following this scourge, and never recovered during Hearne's tenure.[68]

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[66] The details and circumstances pertaining to all three attempts are covered in Chapter 2.

[67] Hearne, *A Journey* (1958), 112.

With Churchill's fur trade in a crisis, the London Committee re-emphasized its desire to develop a profitable whaling industry operating out of this post. Once again Hearne became involved in the operation of an industry about which he had earlier expressed misgivings. These sentiments returned and contributed to a souring of Hearne's relationship with his employers. Correspondence between the two parties towards the end of Hearne's HBC career displays clear evidence of a mutual dislike and disregard.[69] Unable to appease the London Committee, Hearne chose to retire from the company's service, and on 20 August 1787 he boarded the *Sea Horse*, bound for London.[70]

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[68] The fall was likely compounded by the unrelenting efforts of Canadian traders; however, it is impossible to differentiate responsibility for the decline between these traders and the disease. During Hearne's tenure as chief factor, the post recieved on average 11 158 MB (made beaver - the standard of trade) worth of furs in the years prior to the smallpox outbreak and an average of 4529 MB after the epidemic. These figures are based on reported returns for Churchill listed in the Churchill Post Journals and Churchill Correspondence Books for the seasons 1775-76 to 1786-87.

[69] See in particular the letters catalogued in the HBCA as A.11/15 fo 115, London Correspondence Inwards, General Letter from Churchill [and indirectly from Hearne] to London, 28 August 1785 and A.5/2 fo 171, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to William Jefferson [about Hearne], 23 May 1787. The relationship between the London Committee and Hearne, including citations from the above two letters, is provided in Chapter 6.

Back in London, Hearne resided at 8 Leigh Street, Red Lion Square, for the duration of his retirement.[71] He did not take up further employment; instead, he appears to have lived on the money he had saved from his years of service with the HBC. It is possible that Hearne had health problems which curbed his desire to find further employment and perhaps also motivated him to finish the narrative project. Earlier health concerns with his lungs and throat had prompted him to ask the London Committee to consider him for retirement as far back as 1778.[72] This condition persisted throughout the remainder of his career, and Hearne cited health concerns once more in his final request for retirement in 1786.[73] It is not clear whether the respiratory problems continued during his retirement. There is little indication of what Hearne did during his time in London.[74]

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[70] HBCA B.42/a/108 fo 28, Churchill Post Journal, 20 August 1787.

[71] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xxxix.

[72] HBCA A.11/15 fo 47d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee 28 August 1778. Here he complained of an ulcer in his throat and decaying lungs. Hearne writes to Humphrey Marten, chief factor of York, about the same conditions in January and March of 1778: see B.42/b/23 fos 4d, 7, Churchill Correspondence Book, letters from Hearne to Marten, 18 January and 6 March 1778. The condition persists the following year, but Hearne decides to stay in Rupert's Land. See B.42/b/24 fo 2d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Marten, 27 January 1779; A.5/2 fo 52, London Correspondence Outwards - General, letter from the London Committee to Hearne, 10 May 1780.

[73] HBCA B.42/b/27 fo 3, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Marten, 23 January 1785. Here Hearne suggests that his ongoing health problems have subsided. He continued to report that he enjoyed a state of "perfect health" into March of 1786: see B.42/b/28 fo 6d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Marten, 20 March 1786. But then in August 1786 Hearne once more asked the London Committee for permission to return to England due to illness: see A.11/15 fo 126d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 17 August 1786. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, there is reason to suspect that Hearne's frustrations with his job also contributed to his desire to leave.

[74] There are no clues in the HBC records of Hearne's intentions upon retirement, nor does Hearne indicate how he used this time. I have, however, chosen to focus my

One of Hearne's few documented activities consisted of acquiring the HBC's permission to examine his journals and other records pertaining to the northern copper mines at the Company's London office.[75] Then, on 3 October 1792, five years after his arrival in England, Hearne submitted a manuscript to the successful publishing and bookselling partnership of Andrew Strahan and Thomas Cadell. Five days later, Hearne signed a contract to sell his manuscript to the above partnership for the considerable sum of Ł200. Perhaps indicating that health problems had indeed motivated Hearne to finalize the manuscript, shortly after concluding the publishing contract he signed his will, dated 23 October 1792. Then, sometime in November, Hearne died at age 47 from the dropsy, a kidney disorder.[76] Strahan and Cadell released *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* to the public in 1795, three years after Hearne's passing.

There are a number of factors associated with the production of Hearne's narrative that make identifying Hearne's writing process difficult to ascertain. Since Hearne's visit to the HBC offices sometime after 1787, his three Coppermine River journals have disappeared. Also missing from the documentary record was the manuscript Hearne sent to Strahan and Cadell. With these key elements of the writing process absent, the genesis of *A Journey* has been left largely to conjecture. Yet it is possible to transform conjecture into a solid argument. My proposed methodology is the subject of the following section.

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research primarily upon the years Hearne spent in Rupert's Land and have relied upon published materials for information on his life in London. This is the same stance I took on Hearne's life preceding his arrival in Rupert's Land.

[75] He makes note of the visit and these records in his introduction to *A Journey*: "I applied to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, for leave to peruse my original Journals. This was granted with the greatest affability and politeness; as well as a sight of all my Charts relative to this Journey." See Hearne, "Introduction" (1958), li. Clearly he also looked at HBC records pertaining to James Knight's search for the northern copper mines and the Northwest Passage in 1719 (lx).

[76] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xlii-xliii.

Premises and Approaches to Studying the Production of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*

The available documentary evidence pertaining to the creation of Hearne's narrative dictates a creative and interdisciplinary approach in order to identify the writing process. Evidence of Hearne's work on the narrative is limited to nine excerpts from various writing stages of the Coppermine River narrative, some clues provided by Hearne himself in the 1795 published narrative, as well as HBCA material on Hearne's activities during his career. The most popular version of the story leading to the creation of *A Journey* relies upon a few phrases from a French captain's journal.

On 8 August 1782 three ships sailed into Hudson Bay. Unlike the annual provision and news-bearing ships, these vessels carried only hostile intentions. On return from supporting the American colonists' rebellion against England, the French flotilla's commander, Jean-François Galaup Comte de la Pérouse, intended to strike one more blow against England by demolishing her thriving commercial operations along the bay. The French attacked Churchill and York, the only two trading posts they knew about, before returning home. In so doing they captured Samuel Hearne. The French also destroyed most of the paperwork at Churchill, but somehow Hearne's Coppermine River journal survived. La Pérouse discovered the document and after reading it returned the journal to Hearne only upon the condition that he submit it for publication once he had returned to England.[77] With such prompting Hearne spent the next few years reworking the journal before selling the manuscript just one month before he died.[78]

So goes the popular account of the timing and motive behind Hearne's editorial efforts regarding the Coppermine River narrative. In examining the veracity of the story, scholars and editors of Hearne's account have qualified the pivotal role played by La Pérouse in Hearne's writing of his arctic-bound trek, and have added nuances to the editorial history of the narrative, but have been unable to provide more than a rough approximation of where, when, and why Hearne reworked his original journals.[79] In particular, three scholars have shaped the discussion of the writing process for the Coppermine River narrative: J.B. Tyrrell, Richard Glover, and Ian S. MacLaren. All three have created plausible accounts of the writing process and, of equal importance, each one presents a decidedly different portrayal of how the 1795 account published by Strahan and Cadell came into being.

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[77] J.B. Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1911), 20; Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xxxiii- xxxiv.

[78] Glover (1958), xliii.

The story of La Pérouse's role in prompting the publication of Hearne's narrative was popularized by geographer J.B Tyrrell in his introduction to the first modern edition (1911). Tyrrell cites a note made by Lallemant, a late 18th-century secretary of the French Marine Department and the French translator of the 1799 edition of La Pérouse's journal. Lallemant described the conditional return of the manuscript to Hearne:

> [L]e journal manuscrit en fut trouvé par *la Pérouse* dans les papiers de ce Gouverneur, qui insista pour qu'il lui fût laissé comme sa propriété particulière...*la Pérouse* céda, par bonté, aux instances du Gouverneur *Hearne*, et lui rendit le manuscrit; mais à la condition expresse de la faire imprimer et publier dès qu'il serait de retour en Angleterre.[80]

Based on this evidence Tyrrell supposed that La Pérouse had stimulated Hearne to commence with the editorial work; Tyrrell consequently believed that the majority of Hearne's editorializing occurred subsequent to the fur trader's arrival in England in the late fall of 1782. He imagined that Hearne laboured on the manuscript "[i]n the ordinary quietude of his tent or office, when thinking of nothing but the subject which he was describing" when back at Churchill between 1783 and 1787.[81] Tyrrell was unable to find direct evidence of the writing process specific to the Coppermine River narrative; instead, he used Hearne's two Cumberland House Journals to infer that Hearne was incapable of writing the narrative as it appeared in the first published edition (1795).[82] According to Tyrrell, Hearne's role in the writing process was limited to providing the factual outline of the journey, and, after the encounter with La Pérouse, recording his observations on the region's natural history. Tyrrell proposed that it was Bishop John Douglas, editor of Captain James Cook's third voyage (1784), who reworked Hearne's material into publishable form.[83]

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[79] The validity of the La Pérouse story shall not be examined here. There is sufficient evidence from other sources to suggest that the construction of the Coppermine River narrative does not rest on Hearne's encounter with the French commander.

[80] Lallemant, as cited in Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction" (1911), 20. My translation of the passage reads as follows: "[T]he manuscript journal was found by *la Pérouse* in the papers of the Governor, who insisted that it be returned to him as it was his personal property...*la Pérouse* gave it back, out of kindness, at the insistence of Governor Hearne, and returned the manuscript to him; but on the express condition that he print and publish it as soon as he returned to England."

Richard Glover described a significantly more detailed writing process, yet it is one that remains chronologically vague. He acknowledged Hearne's encounter with La Pérouse, but unlike Tyrrell, he found evidence that Hearne already had reworked substantially the Coppermine River account by the time of the French attack.[84] According to Glover, Hearne revised the narrative as well as writing an additional chapter on the flora and fauna of the interior north and west of Hudson Bay between 1776 and 1782; he next created another chapter, this one on the Chipewyan, between 1783 and 1787; and then Hearne added the introduction and preface following his retirement to London, continuing to work on them after 1790. Hearne finished the revisions by 1792.[85] Glover developed this theory based largely upon internal evidence from within the 1795 published account as well as from a comparison of the 1795 account to the Stowe MS, a document Glover believed to be a transcription from the HBC's copy of Hearne's 1770-72 journal about the third attempt.[86] The strength and accuracy of Glover's conclusions, however, are compromised by his superficial employment of both methodologies of internal analysis and comparison of the narrative manuscripts, as well as a superficial examination of the records held by the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA) in order to fill out his biographical assessment of Hearne's activities, abilities, and writing opportunities.[87] As shall be demonstrated, there is much more information that can be gleaned concerning the writing process using these very same methods.

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[81] Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction" (1911), 15.

[82] HBCA B.49/a/1-2, Cumberland House Post Journals, 23 June 1774 to 23 June 1775, and 8 July 1775 to 26 October 1775.

[83] Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction" (1911), 18. According to Richard Glover, Tyrrell developed the hypothesis from John Richardson's "Digression Concerning Hearne's Route" published as part of Captain George Back's *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition*. Others soon embraced Richardson's suggestion as it was publicized by Tyrrell, such as John B. Brebner, *Explorers of North America*, orig. pub 1933 (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1964), 333, and A.S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1938), 300.

[84] Glover, "Editor's Introduction" (1958), xxxiv.

[85] Glover, "Editor's Introduction" (1958), xxxix, xl, lii.

Most recently, Ian S. MacLaren examined Hearne's writing process, through comparing corresponding sections of narrative manuscripts, in order to ascertain the nature and degree of change to the Coppermine River narrative. Having previously studied the transitional process from notebook to published narrative for a number of exploration texts, MacLaren suggested that these texts typically moved through four editorial stages: field notes, journal or report, draft manuscript, and published narrative.[88] However, in terms of establishing a chronology specific to Hearne's case, MacLaren's portrait differed little from Tyrrell's. MacLaren proposed that Hearne wrote the field notes during his journey, transformed them into a report which he sent by ship to London in the fall of 1772, and then created a draft manuscript that "might have been written as late as twenty years later." For the fourth stage, MacLaren believed that someone other than Hearne added the final touches to the manuscript after the retired fur trader submitted it for publication in 1792.[89] Based on the facts surrounding the publication of Hearne's narrative and from comparing the published account to unpublished transcribed fragments of the narrative, MacLaren concluded that the imagery from Hearne's story underwent significant alteration: "[b]oth in Hearne's lifetime and after his death, the manuscript that became *A Journey* was worked on by someone other than Hearne himself. The account of the massacre at Bloody fall - the story of the North - bears signs of enhancement as much as other...sections of the book."[90]

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[86] "Mr. Hearne's Narrative," Stowe MSS, vol. 307, fos. 67-89 (1791), Department of Manuscripts, British Library.

[87] MacLaren concurs: "Glover's edition of Hearne's narrative has worn well during its thirty-five years of existence, but it is also clear that Glover, because he held Hearne in high esteem or for other reasons, spent less bibliographic attention on the Stowe MS than might have been spent by scholars with different interests and orientations to the text." See "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey* from a Bibliographic Perspective," 23-24.

[88] MacLaren, "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre at Bloody Fall," 25. He notes that in each situation there is some variability in the writing process. MacLaren also comments on the stages theory as it pertains to the Hearne narrative in "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," 39-68 ; "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey*," 24-25.

Other scholars who make reference to this topic tend to present summaries of these three positions.[91] For example, historian Lawrence J. Burpee endorsed Tyrrell's rendition of the influence on Hearne of the encounter with La Pérouse. L.H. Neatby in his introduction to the 1971 reprint of *A Journey* also relied upon La Pérouse to motivate Hearne; however, unlike Tyrrell, Neatby maintained that rather than a ghost writer Hearne himself "devoted the last five years of his life to the revision and enlargement of his Coppermine Narrative." In a very brief reference to the writing process, Hearne's biographer in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, C.S. Mackinnon, contended only that Hearne reworked the journal for publication during the "last decade of his life," in other words between 1783 and 1792.[92] Similarly, Ian R. Stone, Michael J. Brand, and Stuart and Mary Houston summarized the production process: Stone suggested Hearne commenced writing after his retirement, Brand mentioned that Hearne worked on the manuscript while at Churchill, and the Houstons favoured a post-Pérouse work period. In each case these scholars failed to present evidence to support their positions.[93]

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[89] See MacLaren, "Samuel Hearne's Accounts," footnote 8, 44-45. Here MacLaren outlines his rationale for placing responsibility for the fourth stage upon an unidentified other. His position is tied to Hearne's spelling abilities. MacLaren also discusses these stages in "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey*," 21,22 (source of quote). Here he contends that an excerpt of Hearne's narrative found in Graham's "Observations" represents the third stage and that Hearne worked on this material during the 1780s and 90s. MacLaren based his theory upon Glyndwr Williams' published version of Graham's manuscripts (*Andrew Graham's Observations* (1969)). Williams uses HBCA E.2/12 as the base text, and this factor hides the true nature of the excerpt from MacLaren, as is explained in Chapter 5.

[90] MacLaren, "Exploring Canadian Literature," 92.

[91] MacLaren's approach to understanding the writing process is the least recognized among the other scholars noted here; however, this occurrence is explained by the fact that much of MacLaren's work postdates the work by these other scholars.

In contrast to this last group of brief summations, Mary E. Hamilton presented a lengthier portrayal that was comprised of a mixture of Tyrrell's and Glover's interpretations. Influenced by Glover, she agreed that the La Pérouse encounter minimally affected Hearne's editorial efforts. Yet, though she read Glover's 1958 introduction, she ignored his methods to date the writing process, preferring to maintain a vague editorial time frame.[94] In the decade following Hearne's return from the Arctic, Hamilton argued "he was preoccupied with Hudson's Bay Company affairs" which limited his ability to work on the manuscript. Like Tyrrell, Hamilton believed that in the second decade of Hearne's HBC career his responsibilities as governor of Churchill preoccupied him, but that somehow he found the odd moment to work on the manuscript. Hamilton neglected to elaborate on the precise nature of this work or on the evidence she used to make these statements.[95] She contended that Hearne's chief liability, and indeed the reason he took so long to rework the narrative, was that "although Hearne had natural literary ability, he was untrained, even...semi-literate."[96] Like Tyrrell, Glover, and MacLaren, she believed that Hearne did not possess the necessary writing skills to transform, singlehandedly, the journal into a publishable commodity, and as a result a significant amount of the editorial work fell to someone else.[97]

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[92] Lawrence J. Burpee, *A Chapter in the Literature of the Fur Trade* (Chicago, 1911), 51; Burpee, "Samuel Hearne," *The Discovery of Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1944), 190; C.S. Mackinnon, "Samuel Hearne," 341; L.H. Neatby, "Introduction," *A Journey* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1971), xxii-xxiii.

[93] Michael J. Brand, "Samuel Hearne and the Massacre at Bloody Falls," *The Polar Record* 28 (1983)," 229; Stuart and Mary Houston, "Samuel Hearne, Naturalist," *The Beaver* 67.4 (Fall 1987), 24; Ian Stone, "Profile: Samuel Hearne," 55. It should be noted that none of the above-mentioned scholars intended that the exploration of the Hearne's writing process be the main subject of their articles.

[94] Mary Hamilton, "Samuel Hearne," 10.

[95] Hamilton, 12.

There is no one theory or methodology that I can use to describe the genesis of the Coppermine River narrative and Hearne's role in its evolution; rather, in order to achieve the desired description, I had to apply an interdisciplinary approach. Literary theorists now generally concur that this situation is to be expected given that every literary work comes with its own unique production history. Josué Harari has stipulated that "a theory is useful insofar as it serves the criticism of specific works."[98] Similarly, in reference to the practice of documentary editing, Philip Gaskell claimed that "[e]very textual situation is unique, and the editor must base his procedures on his own critical judgement as much as in general principles."[99] In this thesis I have employed four approaches to reconstruct the genesis of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*: grammatical analysis of Hearne's writing preferences over time, comparative analysis of unpublished and published manuscripts of Hearne's Coppermine River narrative, biographical analysis of Hearne's life, and internal analysis of the published narrative for clues to when Hearne wrote different sections of the text. Each approach provides a partial picture of the writing process. When the results from the four approaches are viewed in combination, the ensuing congruencies present a persuasive portrayal of the production of *A Journey* and Samuel Hearne's role in it.

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[96] Hamilton, 12.

[97] Hamilton, 12, 15. Hamilton favours William Wales over John Douglas for two reasons. She believes that Douglas' editorial style would have resulted in greater changes to the manuscript's writing style. As well, she suggests that Wales' documented presence in negotiations with the publisher represents a more convincing link to Hearne's manuscript than any that can be established to Douglas.

[98] Josué B. Harari, "Preface," *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 9.

[99] Philip Gaskell, *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 6.

The first approach involves examining documents containing Hearne's handwriting for evidence of his own grammatical style. It is widely believed, although not uniformly so, that Samuel Hearne was incapable of writing the narrative as it appeared in 1795 publication. Hearne's role as author is questioned in part because of a statement in an eighteenth-century obituary which described him as poorly educated.[100] This unfortunate label led Richard Glover to contend, at least initially, that Hearne was semi-literate.[101]

By undertaking a study of the HBCA's collection of letters and journals in Hearne's handwriting it is possible to ascertain his writing preferences over time and to isolate characteristics of Hearne's syntactic and orthographic style: items that may help to identify the dates of the base text for the transcribed excerpts, as well as the degree of editorial intrusion in each of the narrative excerpts. The study of Hearne's grammatical preferences challenges the enduring characterization of Hearne as semi-literate. Most importantly, this approach allows me to describe Hearne's grammatical preferences at specific times. With this information I can identify, with reasonable confidence, the writing style of Hearne's three journals, the report he submitted to London in 1772, the draft manuscripts, and the manuscript he submitted for publication in 1792, all of which have disappeared from the public domain. These descriptions of the expected writing style within the missing documents can be used to check the accuracy of the relationships between the transcribed and published excerpts of the Coppermine River narrative as suggested by the results of the next approach, bibliographical analysis.

The second approach consists of a bibliographical analysis of the surviving manuscript transcriptions and some pre-1795 published excerpts from Hearne's Coppermine River narrative, in the hope that these earlier versions of the narrative can illuminate the transformation of the narrative from the daily notes in a journal into an epic account of Hearne's travels. As suggested above, all of the holographic versions of the journals, reports, and manuscripts pertaining to the Coppermine River narrative have disappeared. In place of these original documents are a number of transcribed manuscripts and published excerpts of Hearne's account. I have listed them below according to the date when the surrounding text was completed or published:[102]

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[100] Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1911), 19.

[101] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xxviii.

- Andrew Graham, "M^r^. Samuel Hearne's Account of the Massacre of the Esquimaux by the Wechepowuck Indians at the Copper Mine River in Latitude 72: 54 North. Longitude 125°:6'9 West From London," Observations on Hudson's Bay, HBCA E.2/13 pp 252-257. Volume mostly finished by 1775.
- Captain James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, vol 1, London, 1784, pp xlvii-xlix, l-li.
- Alexander Dalrymple, *Memoir of a Map of the Lands around The North-Pole*, London, printed by George Biggs, 1789.
- Alexander Dalrymple, *Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade, and Securing it for this Country, by Uniting The East-India and Hudson's Bay Companys*, London, printed by George Biggs, 1789.
- Edward Umfreville, *The Present State of Hudson's Bay*, London, 1790, pp 24-26.
- "A journal of Observations made on a Journey Inland from Prince of Wales's Fort in Latitude 58° 50 North to Lat: 72:00 Beginning 7th Dec^r^ 1770 ending June 30th 1772 - by Samuel Hearne," Stowe MSS, vol. 307, fos. 67-89 (1791), Department of Manuscripts, British Library.
- Andrew Graham, excerpt untitled, Observations on Hudson's Bay, HBCA E.2/12 pp 336-345. Volume finished by 1791.
- Andrew Graham, "Mr. Samuel Hearne's Account of the Massacre of the Esquimays," Observations on Hudson's Bay, HBCA E.2/9 fos 133-135. Volume finished by 1793.

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[102] I have assigned the dates to Graham's volumes as suggested by Glyndwr Williams, who edited the collection of volumes, published as *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1767-91* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969). See Williams, Appendix B, pp 354-55, 358-361.

- "Hearne's Journal 1770-72 from the Original in the Possession of the Hudson's Bay Company," Dropmore Papers, Grenville MSS. ADD.59237, 47 ff. Department of Manuscripts, British Library. Date unknown.

The study of manuscripts, journals, and reports related to the final form of the text (in this case, the 1795 published narrative) in order to understand the process of textual composition is also known as genetic criticism, and according to William Moreau, it "has been the dominant mode of approaching Canadian exploration and travel literature for the last ten years."[103] Richard Glover and Ian MacLaren have used this approach to glean information about the production of *A Journey*; however, Glover performed a limited comparison between only one of the transcribed manuscripts and the 1795 published text, and MacLaren compared two of the transcribed manuscripts to the 1795 edition in great detail, but only concerning the Chipewyan-Inuit clash in July 1771.[104] In my master's thesis, I also conducted a comparison between one of the transcribed manuscripts and the published text, but my study was limited to exploring the differences in gendered imagery. This current study differs from previous ones because it includes a greater number of manuscripts and is not limited to examining textual differences belonging to a specific event or cultural aspect. I begin the analysis with a description of the manuscripts' provenances and I attempt to establish the chronological relationship among the various accounts, according to when the originals were created. Some of the grammatical characteristics that I identified in the previous approach are useful here to confirm the proposed dates for the original, and missing, documents. I then discuss some of the substantive textual differences among the manuscripts. By studying the origins and textual content of the manuscripts related to *A Journey*, I will demonstrate the nature of change to the narrative during the writing process.

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[103] William E. Moreau, "David Thompson's Writing of His Travels: The Genetics of an Emerging Exploration Text," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Toronto, 1997), 27. He cites as examples Richard C. Davis' work on John Franklin, MacLaren on Samuel Hearne and Paul Kane, Barbara Belyea on Anthony Henday, and Germaine Warkentin's forthcoming work on Pierre Esprit Radisson.

[104] Glover admits the limitations of his comparison: "I have noted...a number of differences between the two versions, but a detailed collation is, unfortunately, not practicable in a work of this kind." See *A Journey* (1958), 41, editor's footnote. See also MacLaren, "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey*,"21-23; "Exploration/Travel Literature," 57; "Exploring Canadian Literature," 92-94; "Samuel Hearne's Accounts,"28-40.

The aim of the third approach, a biographical analysis of the author, is to create an awareness of the conditions under which Hearne worked and to illuminate times when he possibly worked on the narrative. Using documents from the HBCA it is possible to identify in considerable detail Hearne's activities and whereabouts during his twenty years in Rupert's Land. In none of these documents does Hearne make reference to working on the Coppermine River account or the additional material on the Chipewyan and the local flora and fauna. Nonetheless, it is possible to deduce the most likely times he laboured on the narrative. Hearne's motive for publishing the narrative is also contained in this same HBCA material.

The fourth approach, internal analysis of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, relies chiefly upon Hearne's references within the published text to specific events in order to date when Hearne wrote different sections of this text. This approach has proved useful in other studies of exploration texts. Historian Glyndwr Williams used it to demonstrate the relationship between the numerous manuscript versions of Graham's "Observations."[105] Richard Glover is the only scholar studying the production of *A Journey* who has utilized this approach. Even so, Glover intended his comments to reflect general observations about the event being discussed by Hearne rather than as the basis for a discussion about the writing process. For example, when Hearne used the word "here" in the entry for 7 February 1771, Glover suggested that it indicated "that this passage was written at the Bay [pre 1787], not in England."[106] Near the end of the entry for 28 May 1771, Glover commented on Hearne's employment of the present tense in reference to an action made by Matonabbee. Glover deduced from the verb tense that Hearne must have written this passage prior to Matonabbee's death in 1782.[107] My use of this approach differs from Glover's in two ways. First, using HBCA materials to cross-reference the dates of events mentioned by Hearne in the published narrative, I am able to identify a great number of additional clues. Second, I looked at these clues as a group to determine if there were any patterns pertaining to when Hearne wrote the different components of the narrative, such as his insertions on wildlife, Chipewyan women, and the effect of the fur trade on Native peoples, his footnotes, the additional chapters, and his introduction and preface. The resulting explanation of the timing of the writing process is far more specific than that presented by any other scholar thus far.

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[105] Glyndwr Williams employed this approach in his discussion of the provenance of certain volumes in "Appendix B: The 'Observations' of Andrew Graham." See his discussion of E.2/9, p 355, and E.2/10 on page 356 under the subheadings of (i) and (ii).

[106] *A Journey*, ed. Richard Glover (1958), 48, editor's footnote 1.

My research establishes Hearne's role in the writing process. I describe, with reasonable certainty, what the missing original documents would have looked like. I ascertain the textual relationship between the surviving unpublished transcriptions and the published excerpts appearing in books authored by persons other than Hearne. I pinpoint when Hearne composed each stage of the narrative, and where possible, establish a documented link to one of the surviving manuscript copies. As well, I present new historical interpretations explaining why the HBC experienced difficulty in locating the northern copper mines, why Matonabbee and Idotlyazee took so long to create the map describing the route to the mines, why Hearne's first two guides, Chachinahaw and Conne-e-quese, could not succeed, and why the Chipewyan attacked the Inuit during Hearne's third attempt. Like Hearne's attempts to reach the northern copper mines, completing this study has demanded perseverance, determination, and patience, but by so doing I have resolved a number of long-standing mysteries surrounding the creation of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*. Let us begin this journey...

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[107] *A Journey*, ed. Richard Glover (1958), 70, editor's footnote 1.

Chapter Outline

In Chapter One I explain why the company experienced such difficulty in reaching the mines. In the next chapter I summarize the story of Hearne's three attempts and then explore a number of historical incongruities with Hearne's tale. In Chapter Three I describe the history of the HBC's record-keeping policies and explain the fate of Hearne's Coppermine River journals. In Chapter Four I examine the likelihood Hearne was able to write in the style characteristic of the published narrative. In the following chapter I describe the relationships between the surviving documentary fragments of the manuscript variants relating to *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*. In Chapter Six I search for times when Hearne worked on the narrative, and in Chapter Seven I use references made by Hearne in the published narrative (1958 ed. of the 1795 text) to events during his time in Rupert's Land to establish when he wrote that particular passage. In the epilogue I present a summary of what happened to Hearne's text after he submitted it for publication.

CHAPTER 1
THE MAN AND THE MYTH

The production of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, a tale of mysteries abolished, in itself is a story of mysteries created. The information contained in Samuel Hearne's journals and maps from the Coppermine River trek ended the Hudson's Bay Company's hopes of bringing vast quantities of copper ore directly by boat from the northern mines to England through the Northwest Passage. The resulting narrative account, first published in 1795, itself generated a number of puzzling questions. In this chapter I examine how the Hudson's Bay Company came to believe that vast copper stores existed and why they experienced such difficulty in locating the mines.

A Journey traces Hearne's efforts to pinpoint rumours of mineral wealth located somewhere in the north using latitude, longitude, and the written word; in other words, Hearne portrays himself as responsible for replacing the abstract with the concrete. Yet there is evidence in the HBC's records that Hearne knew what he would (not) find before he ventured from Churchill. He was not alone. It seems that Moses Norton, Hearne's superior, and Matonabbee, his Chipewyan guide, also knew that the mines and water-way would not answer the HBC's expectations. The historical reality preceding Hearne's departure raises questions about all three men's motives in proceeding with the trek. These same records provide reasons, not included in historical discussions of the copper mine search, why Hearne's first two guides were not able to lead him to the mines. They also contain previously overlooked evidence challenging the dominant portrayal of the July 1771 attack by the Chipewyan upon the Inuit near the mouth of the Coppermine River: an event of pivotal importance in the 1795 account. This first chapter addresses the context of the HBC's search for the mines, explains the HBC's confusion regarding the location of the northern copper mines, and describes how Samuel Hearne came to be chosen as the HBC's representative on the overland search for the mines.

The middle of August 1766 was a disappointing time for Chief Factor Moses Norton of Churchill, the northernmost post operated by the Hudson's Bay Company. A sailor had fallen off the recently arrived ship from London and drowned. It would be over a week before his body was retrieved. Norton was under pressure from the London-based HBC board of governors to compensate for the decrease in furs reaching the more southern posts by expanding Churchill's whaling efforts.[1] In spite of regular sightings and nearly daily hunts, employees had caught just three white whales (belugas) around Churchill since the beginning of the season in mid-June. Whaling continued to be a frustrating exercise; on the 19th, employees spotted about twenty whales in the Churchill River, but failed to capture any.[2] The hunting of black whales to the north around Marble Island was similarly unproductive.[3] Meanwhile, Norton had received word from a group of visiting Chipewyans that Matonabbee, an increasingly influential Chipewyan trader and peacekeeper, would not be in this summer. Since Norton had asked Matonabbee four years earlier to locate the source of the elusive northern copper mines, long rumoured to be plentiful and accessible, the chief factor had awaited his return anxiously, anticipating the promised ore samples and map. He hoped to convince his superiors on the HBC's London Committee to sanction the first overland expedition in the company's long history of searching for the mines. Amidst this commotion, Norton managed to note in the post journal the names of new employees as they came ashore from the London ship during a week long period. Included in this list was one John Herne, intended mate of the *Churchill Sloop*; in fact, this man was Samuel Hearne.[4]

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[1] The London Committee wrote to Moses Norton on 27 May 1766 (a letter he would receive upon the arrival of the London ship at Churchill) informing him that "We have considerably increased the number of Servants under Your direction purposely for the better carrying on the Black Whale Fishery." Eighteen new sailors, minus the recently drowned one, plus two new harpooners arrived at Churchill that August. See HBCA A.1/42 fo [illegible], London Minute Book, 26 February and 6 March 1766; A.5/1 fos 74d-75, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to Moses Norton, 17 May 1766; A.6/10 fo 119, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Moses Norton and Council, 27 May 1766.

[2] It may well be that summertime construction activities around Churchill, particularly the blasting and splitting of rocks, coincidently compromised the white whale hunts. In the summer of 1766, Moses Norton noted in the Churchill Post journal the blowing up of stones throughout May, June, and July. See HBCA B.42/a/64 fos. 39-40d, 43-44d, 45d, 49. White whales were sighted in the Churchill River on 13 June; no other sightings from shore near the fort are reported for this season. Two whales were caught on 20 June and the other on 6 August. See HBCA B.42/a/64 fos. 42d, 43d, 51d. These whales enter the rivers along Hudson Bay in summer to birth and raise their offspring. According to biologists Reeves and Mitchell, loud noises anywhere near the river mouth dissuades them from visiting their riverine nursery, and instead the whales stay further out in the bay or search out another river after a brief visit to the Churchill. See Randall R. Reeves and Edward Mitchell, *History of White Whale (Delphinapterus leucas) Exploitation in Eastern Hudson Bay*, Special Publication of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences, no. 95 (Ottawa: Department of Fisheries and Oceans, 1987), 37. Currently, there are no studies examining whaling and white whale behaviour along the western side of Hudson Bay. Given that stonework, including the blasting of stones, had taken place every spring and summer at Churchill since 1732, it isn't surprising that the white whales proved elusive.

[3] These whales are not to be confused with the previously mentioned white whales, or belugas, that could be caught in Churchill River. The black whales lived further out in the bay and had been sighted in greater numbers around Marble Island, which is why the

The twenty-one-year-old seemed eager to please his new employer and ready to embrace life in Rupert's Land. Only six days after debarking he wrote a letter expressing his gratitude to the London Committee. It was a highly unusual act for a new employee, let alone one of Hearne's lower rank, to thank to the London Committee for being hired; indeed, Hearne's letter is unique among all letters written from Churchill between 1723 and 1787.[5] As the sailing season was over by the time Hearne arrived, his land-based

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whaling ship always had that place as its destination. According to biologists Reeves and Mitchell, these whales were most likely bowhead whales. See *History of the White Whale*, 40-41. For the London Committee's orders concerning the cessation of coastal exploration and the importance of whaling, see HBCA A.6/10 fo 72d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Moses Norton and Council, 15 May 1765. The capture of black whales proved to be a frustrating exercise. For example, in 1766 during a three week period expressly devoted to hunting black whales, those on board the *Success* spotted over forty whales but could not catch any. Employees of the *Churchill* sloop, though devoted to trading with Inuit and Chipewyan peoples along the western coast of Hudson Bay north of Churchill, sighted one black whale and also failed to catch it. HBCA B.42/a/65 fo 23, *Churchill* Sloop Journal 1766 for 10 August; B.42/a/66 fos. 10d, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, *Success* Sloop Journal 1766, for 24, 27, 29, 31 July and 4, 12 August 1766.

[4] HBCA B.42/a/64 fos. 51d-54, Churchill Post Journal 1765-66.

[5] HBCA A.11/1-15, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill 1723-1787. Hearne's first letter can be found under A.11/14 fo 52. The year 1723 represents the first year for which such correspondence has survived, and 1787 represents the last year of

superior, Chief Factor Moses Norton, put him to work at other seasonal tasks.

Churchill's post journal for 1766-67 provides a reasonable indication of the nature of Hearne's activities until the recommencement of the sailing season the following June. Throughout the fall he helped ready the boats for winter: there are specific references to him fitting sails on boats and fixing the stay on the *Success*. Again, the fact that his name is mentioned in the journal distinguishes him from the majority of the other 50-odd employees at the fort, with the exception of the sloop masters, the accountant, and the surgeon. Beginning in November, the seamen, usually under the supervision of the two sloop masters, performed menial labour chiefly consisting of gathering and hauling wood, hay, and ice on large sleds. Hearne had some relief, relatively speaking, when he was charged with cutting the ships' moorings from ice on the 1st of December and then on the 30th storing stones intended for use in construction of Churchill's wall in the spring. All the men had a day of rest on Christmas and New Year's. In early April the men, including Hearne, finished hauling firewood, but this job was replaced by the task of hauling planks to the construction site.[6] The two sloop masters and thirty-eight men left the fort at 3 a.m. and returned at 4 p.m. They repeated the task the next day as well. The pace of work intensified in expectation of the goose hunting season, incoming Native traders, and anticipation of the warmer spring weather that would allow the resumption of construction. As well, the river whaling boats and the sloops required repair. In the middle of April Hearne helped cut all the boats out of the ice, and toward the end of the month he, along with the other seamen, hauled brush to fuel the lime kiln. The journal

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Hearne's service with the HBC. Hearne's letter may prove unique among a wider scope of letters but as I focused on correspondence to and from Churchill, I cannot make that claim.

[6] Over the years the trees closest to the fort had been cut, making it necessary to travel further and further in search of wood, the main source of fuel and heat during the long winter months. For example, Ferdinand Jacobs, chief factor at Churchill prior to Moses Norton, commented that "there is not a stick of wood growing for fireing or any other use within 3 Miles of this Place." See HBCA A.11/13 fo 141d, London Correspondence Inward - Churchill, letter from Ferdinand Jacobs to the London Committee, 23 August 1756.

does not indicate Hearne's precise whereabouts in May, but it appears he was either helping out with the goose hunt or hauling stones to the construction site. Toward the end of May it is likely he focused more on ship-related work; for example, according to the post journal, some seamen created new rigging for the river boats and started repairs on the *Success*. In June Hearne and two other sailors began spending time on the *Churchill*, taking over two weeks to rig the ship. Near the end of the month the rest of the *Churchill*'s crew came on board and moved the boat from its winter berth at Sloop's Cove[7] into the mouth of the Churchill River, where it received supplies for its northern trading mission. It is certain that Hearne was with the *Churchill* at this time because he took the time to chisel his name and the date, 1 July 1767, into some exposed rock adjacent to Sloop's Cove. By the 14th of July the *Churchill* was ready; consequently it sailed alongside the *Success* out into Hudson Bay the next day.[8] Thus ended Hearne's first season of land-based work around the fur trade post.

The next two off-seasons comprised the same pattern of work for Hearne, chiefly consisting of hauling, hunting, and fort construction, with a bit of time spent on ship-related tasks. One exception to the emerging work pattern occurred after Hearne strained his leg while hunting on 12 February 1768. He spent the next three weeks recovering at Churchill. Rather than resuming with hunting, Hearne was given a packet of letters to deliver to York Factory; this short trek represents his introduction to overland travel. By his third season Hearne, or "Haren" as temporary Chief Factor John Fowler called him, was emerging as a leader. During the spring he supervised other HBC employees and the

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[7] Sloop's Cove is so named for the site's original use in 1741-42 as a winter berth for the crew and ships, *Discovery* and *Furnace*, belonging to the expedition in search of the Northwest Passage sponsored by Arthur Dobbs. In later years the HBC utilized the spot as a storage space for its own ships.

[8] HBCA B.42/a/67 Churchill Post Journal 1766-67. References to Hearne, either by name or as Mr. Johnston's mate occur on folios 11, 12, 20d, 24d, 50d, 51, 52d, 55, 55d, 58d. Assumed references to Hearne as an unnamed member of Mr. Johnson's crew or in regard to a boat-related activity occur on folios 15d, 21d, 24d, 25, 25d, 30, 31, 32, 41, 41d, 42, 42d, 46, 47, 48, 49, 49d. Hearne's chiselled signature is still visible to this day.

Cree and Chipewyan hunters for the spring goose hunt at an island nearby the post.[9]

The drudgery of off-season work with the HBC, in some respects, represented an improvement upon Hearne's prior circumstances aboard the British Navy ships. According to historian Richard Glover, who examined the logs for the ships upon which Hearne served, the living environment was unpleasant, if not hazardous. The ship's quarters were very crowded, with 210 men subsisting in a space measuring approximately 11 x 53 metres. Captain Hood noted that the ship was overrun with rats. Furthermore, the captain worried that the filthiness of the ballast would compromise the air quality and thus the men's health. During the 1759 voyage, Hood indicated that foul weather and high seas had eroded the seams upon the deck, with the result that below decks everything was consistently soaked.[10] As Hearne discovered, HBC work was monotonous and labour-intensive, but at least the men could perform their duties in the open air and be sustained with fresh country provisions in the form of venison and ptarmigan.[11] There are no indications Hearne resented the nature of this work or his living environment.[12] His first voyage, however, would fix his perspective about what manner of employment he truly preferred. Hearne's association with the quest to locate the northern copper mines also commenced with this voyage, although it began inauspiciously.

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[9] References to Hearne's activities for his second land-based season occur in HBCA B.42/a/70 fos. 2, 2d, 3, 3d, 5, 6, 7-8d, 9, 12, 14, 14d, 16d, 17d, 20d, 21, 23, 23d-24, 27d, 28d, 29d, 32d, 34, 35d-36, 26d-37, 37-38, 39d, 42d, 43d, 45d, 49, 51, 51d, 52, 52d, 53, 54, 56, 61d, 63, Churchill Post Journal 1767-68. References to activities for the third season are located in HBCA B.42/a/74 fos. 3d, 5-6, 7, 8-9, 9d, 12d, 18d, 19d-20, 38d, 40d, 43, 43d, 47, 48, 49, 50, 50d, 51, 51d, 52, 52d, 53d, 60d, Churchill Post Journal 1768-69. Hearne became lame on 12 February 1768 and went to York on 4 March; see B.42/a/70 fos 27d, 28d, 29d, and 32d. Hearne became a supervisor on 8 May 1769; see B.42/a/74 fos 8, 9. The island was likely a reference to present-day Eskimo Island, situated just north of the peninsula upon which the stone fort was built. Fowler was chief factor during Norton's one year leave on grounds of poor health.

[10] Richard Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), ix-x. Glover originally recorded the the ship measurments as 35 x 175 feet. As explained in the introduction, footnote 1, in cases where I have cited Glover's editorial comments on *A Journey*, I have credited him directly, but in cases where I have cited passages from the text of *A Journey*, I have cited Hearne as author.

[11] In the HBC records these birds are referred to as partridges.

[12] Hearne did express clear dissatisfaction with regard to other situations later in his career, but never in any of the HBC documents or in any form of his journal did he appear

After the *Churchill* set sail on 15 July 1767, it headed toward the first stop, Knapps Bay, along the western shore of Hudson Bay. Hearne appeared on the ship's manifest as "Samewal Herne - mate". After Captain William Christopher's report of black whales near Marble Island in 1762, the London Committee had sanctioned a two-pronged approach to the summer voyages: one boat would focus upon the coastal trade, while the other would sail directly to the island to hunt whales.[13] In 1767, the *Churchill* was designated as the trading sloop, which planned meetings with coastal Inuit and Chipewyan peoples at pre-arranged locations to trade HBC goods for fresh caribou meat and whale bones, blubber, and oil. Certainly Hearne would have encountered both groups on this voyage as the journal for the *Churchill* records numerous trading sessions alongside or onboard the ship.[14]

During this voyage the Chipewyan were unable to produce the expected amount of caribou meat (called deer's meat or venison in the HBC records): the Chipewyan professed that for some reason the caribou stayed well inland in the woods instead of venturing out onto the barren grounds. By this point the crew was hungry for fresh provisions, so Hearne went ashore with one other seaman on the 30th of July to hunt

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to complain about hard work or harsh elements. He seemed to accept these situations.

[13] HBCA B.42/a/57, Churchill Sloop Journal 1762 by William Christopher. The original purpose of Christopher's voyage had been to explore more northerly inlets. It took the London Committee a few more years to agree that none of these inlets could lead to the Northwest Passage, and it was at this point that it ordered the two-pronged annual voyages. See HBCA A.6/10 fos. 97-97d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Moses Norton and Council, Churchill, 15 May 1765.

[14] The other coastal stops occurred at Cape Esquimaux, Navels Bay and Whale Cove (note: these places are spelled a variety of ways in the journals). In eighteenth-century HBC documents, the Inuit and Chipewyan are referred to as Esquimaux and Northern Indians respectively. For details on this voyage see HBCA B.42/a/68, Churchill Sloop Journal, Northern Expedition.

caribou, but without luck. After two weeks of trading the *Churchill* headed westward, out into the bay, toward Marble Island, where it was to rendezvous with the *Success* before heading homeward to Churchill post. On the 2nd of August, Johnston's crew learned of a shipwreck and some ruins discovered by sloop master Joseph Stevens's crew. Johnston steered the *Churchill* to investigate the wreck and later accompanied Stevens to examine the ruins. Johnston took along Doll, the Caribou Inuit translator, and two young Inuit boys he had picked up, with the permission of their families, to winter at Churchill before returning them home the following summer.[15] The two boys, sons of an unnamed Inuit trading captain, communicated through Doll what they knew about the people associated with the ruins. According to them, their elders called this place Dead Man's Island and their people no longer camped here because of the events that had transpired over forty years ago.[16] Meanwhile, Samuel Hearne had orders to stay with the harpooners and offer assistance in the event they captured a black whale; however, when no such occasion materialized, Johnston ordered Hearne and some others to go ashore in search of coal. In the process of digging, Hearne inadvertently unearthed a number of graves. Hearne took control of the situation, ordering the men to uncover the graves.[17] Johnson and Stevens say no more about the wreck, ruins, and graves in either the *Churchill* or *Success* journals other than noting a few items from the site they brought back to Churchill.[18]

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[15] Sloop captains often brought Inuit boys back to winter at Churchill. For example, Hearne records the names of two boys, Ho-buck and Santey, who wintered at the post during the 1776-77 season. See HBCA B.42/a/94, fo 39, Churchill Post Journal, Sailing Orders for Magnus Johnston. The HBC approved of these acts as long as the boys came willingly and with their parents' permission. It was hoped that the boys would learn some English and how to use guns and prepare furs according to HBC standards, as well come to want some of the HBC's trading goods. Given the HBC's worries about the increasing presence of Montreal based traders in the western interior, wintering Inuit also provided the opportunity to create loyalty to the company as Moses Norton expressed: "I only wish they may Both Live to get back to their Friends to Inform them how kind they have been Treated by us which will make them Natives greatly ^more^ attached to us." See HBCA B.42/a/64 fo 15, Churchill Post Journal, 29 November 1765. One of the boys brought back by Johnston on this voyage had wintered at Churchill previously. See B.42/a/67 fo 65d, Churchill Post Journal, 22 August 1767.

[16] One of the boys who had wintered at Churchill before during the 1765-55 season, revealed the name of the island to Moses Norton, who recorded this information in the post journal on 29 November 1765. The boy was the son of the Inuit trading captain who had brokered peace with the Chipewyan trader Heath'see. See HBCA B.42/a/62 fos 81d-82, Churchill Post Journal, 13 August 1765; B.42/a/64 fos. 14d-15d, Churchill Post Journal 29 November 1765.

Meanwhile, still on Marble Island, Hearne learned more about the company's thus far unsuccessful black-whaling project. Though the crew of the *Success* had seen black whales all around Marble Island, the whales had eluded them for three weeks. Finally, on 11 August, the crew managed to tag one whale, but they had to tow it ashore on Marble Island in order to kill it. Captain Joseph Stevens called the harpooners and Hearne on board the *Success*, although Hearne was part of the crew assigned to the trading ship *Churchill*, to meet about the prospect of there ever being a successful whaling industry. With Hearne observing and taking notes,[19] the harpooners stated their belief that the number of whales sighted justified the hunt; however, the short sailing season and the time spent making repairs to the boat caused by severe winter conditions seriously compromised the hunt's effectiveness. Furthermore, they required better equipment to improve the efficiency of the hunt.[20] Despite the harpooners' enthusiasm, the capture of only one whale in two years indicated that an industry founded on the hunt for black whales stood little chance of being profitable. Little did Hearne know how the London Committee's continuing interest in developing a successful whaling industry would shape his career.

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[17] HBCA B.42/a/68 fos 27-41d, Churchill Sloop Journal by Magnus Johnston; B.42/a/69 fo 21d, Success Sloop Journal kept by Joseph Stevens.

[18] HBCA B.42/a/69 fo 33d, Success Sloop Journal by Joseph Stevens. Stevens claims to have taken "the 3 pieces of Cannon & Smiths Anvel With some Carvework soals of Shoes."

[19] Hearne apparently helped with the rough copy of Steven's journal. See HBCA A.11/14 fo 68d, General Letter from Churchill, by Moses Norton, to the London Committee, 29 August 1767.

[20] HBCA B.42/a/69 fos 22d, 23, Success Sloop Journal by Joseph Stevens, 10-13 August 1767.

Soon after Hearne returned to Churchill from this first voyage he received a letter from the London Committee in which they informed him of their wish for him to focus upon the development of the whale hunt, as well as the northern sloop trade.[21] Hearne expressed some hesitancy in accepting this role: "in reguard to the Fishery must Confess myself quite ignoran of at present: not haveing sufficeant experiance it that branch to form my Judgment thereof."[22] Nonetheless, the following two seasons he spent in the whaling side of the northern voyages. During the summer of 1768 he was forced to captain a leaky *Speedwell* because Stevens' *Success* was still in a state of such poor repair that it was feared the boat might sink. Norton believed it unlikely that both boats would sink on the same voyage (a heartening thought) so he instructed Hearne to sail alongside (in fact he was often towed) the *Success* as a precautionary measure.[23] Once again the season proved unsuccessful, but at least both boats managed the journey safely. Hearne received the next letter from the London Committee upon his return. In it, Hearne's destiny as a whaler seemed assured: "in full confidence of Your perfecting yourself in the knowledge of the Fishery We now appoint You Mate of the Brigantine Charlotte."[24] Historian Richard Glover suggested that Hearne had by then resigned himself to whaling, comfortable and content with a life at sea. However, this view is unsupportable according to Hearne's own words.

Glover maintains that though the HBC gave Hearne command of the new whaling ship, the *Charlotte*, it was "a hard disappointment" for Hearne when the temporary chief factor Captain John Fowler instead assigned the ship to Stevens, keeping Hearne as a subordinate. When Norton returned from England in August 1769, after his year away, with the news that he had permission to organize an overland expedition to the copper mines, and that he had selected Hearne as the leader, Glover also contended that Hearne was shocked by this news.[25]

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[21] HBCA A.5/1 fo 82, p. 177, London Correspondence Outwards - General, letter to Hearne from the London Committee, 13 May 1767; in this letter Hearne is asked to report his thoughts on whaling prospects and the northern sloop trade.

[22] HBCA A.11/14 fo 69, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 29 August 1767.

[23] HBCA A.11/14 fo 82d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, General Letter from Churchill by Moses Norton, 30 August 1768.

[24] HBCA A.5/1 fo 91, p 180, London Correspondence Outwards - General, letter to Hearne from the London Committee, 25 May 1768.

However, documentary evidence indicates that Hearne wanted an escape from whaling and that one had been in the works for quite a while. In a letter to the London Committee, Hearne disclosed that Chief Factor Moses Norton had proposed to him as early as 1768 a role in the overland expedition that was expected to last years.[26] Since Hearne knew he would be gone from the fort for the majority of his next three-year contract, it is unlikely he was upset by the news he had been passed over for command of the *Charlotte*. Hearne's disillusionment with whaling was deep enough that he requested to be allowed to do any other type of work upon his return from the inland trek. Norton reported to the London Committee of Hearne's "firm resolution infixt on Persueing the Inland Journey."[27] Hearne himself claimed that "as her^{s} [*Charlotte*] as well as the Successe,s former Voyages has ben so unsuccessfull, and in my opinion no views of its ever being brought to any certinty, I had much rather be Employ,d in any other branch of Your Honour,s service. where there is a greater probility of makeing some returns, and giveing satisfaction to my Employer,s."[28] By the end of his first three year contract with the HBC, Hearne was determined to leave the sea-service.

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[25] Richard Glover, "Sidelights on S^{t} Hearne," *The Beaver* 277 (March 1947), 11.

[26] HBCA A.11/14 fo 120, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 29 August 1769.

[27] HBCA A.11/14 fo 100, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, General Letter by Moses Norton, 2 September 1769.

[28] HBCA A.11/14 fo 120-120d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, Hearne to the London Committee, 29 August 1769. In another letter to the committee from Norton on 2 September, Norton mirrored Hearne's reservations about the black whale fishery, mostly because the whales appeared afraid of the ships and wouldn't allow the sailors to get near enough to make the kill. See A.11/14 fo 116d, letter from Norton

Instead of whaling, Hearne seemed far more interested in the ruins on Marble Island. During his other two visits to this place Hearne had opportunities to continue his investigation into the ruins. During his third voyage he learned from an elderly Inuit man more about the fate of those who had died there. Stevens had supposed that the remains belonged to French interlopers,[29] but others in the Company believed that these graves, the ship wrecks, and the few objects, were all that remained of an HBC expedition that had disappeared half a century ago while searching for the northern copper mines.

Rumours pertaining to the fate of this expedition had surfaced over the years.[30] In 1718 the HBC had permitted one of its bayside governors,[31] James Knight, to resign from the company in order to lead two ships the following summer in search of a water route to the northern copper mines, which the Chipewyan claimed lay next to a sea. The HBC heard nothing from Knight after one, and then two years, but hints that the expedition had come to harm had started to surface. According to Chief Factor Richard Staunton of Churchill, visiting Chipewyan reported that they had traded iron with "som of our

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to the London Committee, 2 September 1769. In their response to Hearne, the London Committee promised that if he learned Cree and Chipewyan, the mechanics and protocol of trading, then, should it decide to abandon whaling operations, Hearne would be assigned to a permanent land posting. The next season the committee informed Norton that the fishery was too expensive, admitting that "the Attempts at the Black Whale Fishery have proved fruitless." See HBCA A.5/1 fo 123, p 245, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to Hearne, 17 May 1770 ; A.5/1 fo 132, p 262, letter to Moses Norton, 14 May 1771. Though temporarily freed from the frustrations with whaling operations, these same frustrations would haunt Hearne as chief factor of Churchill.

[29] HBCA B.42/a/69 fo 19d, Success Sloop Journal by Joseph Stevens, 23 July 1767.

[30] The mystery surrounding the fate of Knight's expedition is examined in detail by Owen Beattie and John Geiger in *Dead Silence: The Greatest Mystery in Arctic Discovery* (London: Bloomsbury, 1993). See specifically Chapters Six and Seven, pp 65-94.

[31] In the early days of the company, York Factory, also known then as Port Nelson, was the main post. The chief factor of that post was also the head chief factor, or governor, over the chief factors at other posts.

Country-men" during the winter of 1720-21. The following summer, Henry Kelsey encountered items from the missing expedition among the Inuit while sailing along the western coast of Hudson Bay.[32] According to Owen Beattie and John Geiger, the London Committee struck the *Albany* and *Discovery*, ships belonging to the expedition, from HBC records based on Kelsey's report. This act suggests that the Committee assumed the crews and vessels to be lost, though it had not awaited confirmation of the report or commissioned a search for survivors. In the summer of 1722, the Committee sent Captain John Scroggs on a voyage in search of the Northwest Passage and the northern copper mines. Scroggs's instructions made no reference to searching for the missing expedition.[33] Though Scroggs failed to achieve his objectives, he did encounter material evidence that Knight's expedition had made it as far as Marble Island. He found a piece of a ship's foremast afloat near the island. In an Inuit camp on the island, he saw tents covered with ships' sails and a medicine chest, amongst other things. He also claimed to have been where the two ships had sunk.[34] Hearne stipulated that Scroggs's report finally was accepted by the HBC only when Stevens and the crew of the *Success* found the wrecks again in 1767.[35] For the most part, scholars have accepted Hearne's contention that the 1767 discovery, later embellished by further conversations with local Inuit during ensuing visits, disclosed the true fate of Knight expedition.[36] However, according to HBC documents, Moses Norton had reported the story two years earlier, in 1765. His account derives from the oral tradition presented to him by the two Inuit boys wintering at Churchill, and translated into English by Doll:

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[32] Beattie and Geiger, *Dead Silence*, 76.

[33] Beattie and Geiger, *Dead Silence*, 77-78. Regarding the HBC's attitude toward the Knight expedition see L.J. Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1935), 86; Alan Cooke and Clive Holland, *The Exploration of Northern Canada, 500-1920: A Chronology* (Toronto: The Arctic History Press, 1978), 54; Glyndwr Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, 1962), 22-6, 83 (note 3).

[34] Beattie and Geiger, *Dead Silence*, 77.

[35] Hearne, "Introduction," *A Journey*, lxi. Hearne argued that "it was the Summer of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, before we had positive proofs that poor Mr. Knight...had been lost in Hudson's Bay."

> I Cant Omit Remarking of an Circumstances that I have Learnt from y^e 2 Esquemay Boys wth y^e help of y^e Linguist. Concerning Knight & Barlow that was Lost many years agoe in 2 vessels to y^e Northward, and their account of that molancoly affair as they have heard from old people is as follows, that y^e 2 Vessels was lost in y^e fall of y^e year [1719] about Marble Island but y^e crews got Safe aShore on y^e Said Island & made Huts wth moss &clea & had Saved Some Trifles of Iron Work &c [etc.] off y^e Wracks wth Commoditys they Purchesed from y^e Esquemays, there being Some of y^e [them] Same time on y^e Island, Bears Flesh, Whale & Seals Blubber &c $^{to}_{\wedge}$ $^{\text{Subsist on,}}$ for want of Proper food, clothing &c. they Twindled [dwindled] away very fast. So that none of them Survived y^e Winter, and it was near Marble Harbour where these unhappy People had their huts _ and what M^r Richard Norton and M^r Scrogs Saw of y^e wracks in y^e year 1722 was but ye Least part of it.[37]

Whether Norton the younger shared this information with the seafaring employees, which at the time included Magnus Johnston but not Joseph Stevens, is not known. The fact that

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[36] Ian Stone, "Profile: Samuel Hearne," *Polar Record* 23 (1986), 49; J.B. Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* (1911), 11. Beattie and Geiger suggest that Hearne's account seems to make the most sense, and appears to be particularly persuasive since it was derived from information provided by local Inuit. However, in their four-year study of physical evidence on Marble Island they could not corroborate this account. The sunken ships appeared to have moored without fatal damage in a small harbour on the island. The crews appear to have had enough food to sustain them. Furthermore, there was no evidence that forty-odd crew members had died on the island. Beattie and Geiger postulate that the expedition may have left the island during the winter of 1718-1719, walking to the mainland when that part of Hudson Bay had frozen. That they did not survive long is probable, but their final resting places may be on the mainland. See Beattie and Geiger, *Dead Silence*, 164.

[37] HBCA B.42/a/64 fo 14d, Churchill Post Journal, 29 November 1765. Norton goes on to report that the Inuit subsequently named the island Dead Mans Island and preferred to stay away from the place (fo 15). This story matches that reported by Hearne via the old Inuit man in the summer of 1769 and the short story about the name of the island told to Stevens in 1767; see B.42/a/69 fo 33d, Success Sloop Journal by Joseph Stevens.

Stevens believed the ruins belonged to the French suggests he was ignorant of history kept by the local Inuit. If Johnston had indeed heard the account from Norton, he would not have been surprised at Stevens' discovery. It is also not certain whether Hearne could have learned of the Inuit oral tradition prior to his conversation with the elderly Inuit man in 1769. Thus, for Hearne, this story could well have been a revelation.

Hearne set down his version of the tale in his introduction to the 1795 publication of his narrative concerning the three attempts to locate the copper mines. In it, he suggests that members of the Knight expedition landed on Marble Island in the late fall of 1719. The ships were damaged fatally in the process of bringing them into a harbour on the island, thus stranding the crew of fifty. They managed to persevere through to the following spring when they were visited by Inuit pursuing seals and whales. The Inuit claimed that the crew by then numbered but twenty. During the winter of 1720 some Inuit chose to stay on the island across the harbour from the English sailors, and provided them with fresh meat. Upon the breaking of ice in the following spring, the Inuit left for the mainland, and when they next visited the Island in the summer of 1721, there were still five of Knight's crew alive. Again the Inuit traded fresh meat for some of the crew's iron items. Soon thereafter, these last crew members died.[38] It is not clear why the crew members did not go with the Inuit to the mainland when they had the chance.

The irony of this account, should Hearne have reported it accurately, is that during the summer of 1721 two ships left Churchill and travelled northward along the western coast of Hudson Bay. Though one sank just outside of Churchill, the other traded with Inuit along the coast. The Inuit showed the crew some items which the English sailors recognized as belonging to the Knight expedition. However, because at this time the HBC sailors were unable to communicate with the Inuit, they had no way of knowing that some members of the crew were still living just a day or two's sail to the west.[39] When Captain

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[38] Hearne, "Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), lxii-lxiv.

[39] Henry Keisey, aboard the *Prosperous*, set off from York on 26 June 1721, then stopped at Churchill to pick up Richard Norton (Moses' father). They left Churchill on a trading mission with the Inuit, which took place from 13 July to 16 August. James

Scroggs came across relics from the Knight expedition among the Inuit during the following summer (1722), the last few survivors may still have been living.[40] The HBC's ongoing interest in the fate of Knight stemmed from more than concern for a former employee and his crew. Since its inception, the HBC had sought information regarding two of the oldest quests in Europe's New World: precious metals and the Northwest Passage.

The Hudson's Bay Company charter included provisions that gave the company a monopoly right not only to the furs of Rupert's Land, but also the fishery of the rivers and coastal zone, and any mineral resources that might be discovered.[41] It was almost standard practice to include these clauses in charters for companies operating in distant

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Napper, aboard the *Success*, sank four days after leaving from York, which placed him just north of Churchill. See L.J. Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, vol. 1, 85; Cooke and Holland.

[40] Charged by the London Committee to search for the Northwest Passage, Scroggs, aboard the sloop *Whalebone,* departed from Churchill on 21 June and returned on 25 July 1722. On board, once again, was Richard Norton, who served as an interpreter in case they encountered any Chipewyan or Cree speakers. Scrogg's journal does not survive in the HBC archives; however is is summarized in Clerk of the *California* [T.S. Drage], *An Account of a Voyage For the Discovery of a North-West Passage by Hudson's Streights, to the Western and Southern Ocean of America. Performed in the Year 1746 and 1747, in the Ship California, Capt. Francis Smith, Commander*, vol 2 (London, 1749), 142-180. Information about Scroggs' voyage also appears in Arthur Dobbs, *Remarks Upon Capt. Middleton's Defence...* (London, 1745), 98, 113-17. See L.J. Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, vol. 1, 86; K.G. Davies, ed., *Letters from Hudson Bay 1703-40* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), 84, note 2; E.E. Rich, *History of the HBC*, vol. 1, 447; Williams, *British Search for the Northwest Passage*, 22-6.

[41] "We have given granted and confirmed...unto the said governor and company...the sole Trade and Commerce...with the fishing of all Sortes of Fish Whales Sturgions and all other Royall Fishes in the Seas Bayes Isletes and Rivers with in the premisses and the Fish therein taken together with the Royalty of the Sea upon the Coastes within the Lymittes aforesaid and all Mynes Royall aswell discovered as not discovered of Gold Silver Gemms and pretious Stones to bee found or discovered within the Territoryes Lymittes and Places aforesaid..." Cited in "Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670," *Charters, Statues and Orders in Council Relating to the Hudson's Bay Company* (London: Hudson's Bay Company, 1931), 11.

lands. On 15 March 1577 the British Crown had granted a charter to form the Cathay Company to a group headed by Martin Frobisher and Michael Lok. The purposes of the company were to find gold and the Northwest Passage. During a previous expedition to what is now called Baffin Island, Frobisher believed he had sighted gold. Now, on this voyage the Cathay Company brought back 200 tons of ore in hopes of proving it to contain gold. Although initial testing proved the ore worthless, Lok persevered until he found someone who stated that the ore contained some gold. It was enough to warrant the Crown's support for another voyage. Departing in 1578, Frobisher and Lok collected more ore and searched for an entrance to the passage to the Orient. Frobisher located Hudson Straits, noted it as promising, but was unable to enter as he had to return to Baffin Island to pick up the ore and head to England before winter set in. When this year's haul was also discovered to be worthless, the Cathay Company collapsed. Instead of building wealth, the ore was used for road construction in England.[42]

The HBC's interest in minerals was stimulated by reports its founders received from Pierre Esprit Radisson. In 1661, Radisson had set out from Trois Rivières, in New France, with his brother-in-law Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers and Ojibwa guides to explore the potential for extending the fur trade with Natives westward of the current French connections.[43] In 1665, in the attempt to entice potential investors in London,

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[42] Ernest Stanley Dodge, *Northwest by Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961)75, 80-84; Glyndwr Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, 1962), xv-xvi.

[43] Grace Lee Nute and Germaine Warkentin, based on Nute, contend that they departed in 1659; however, Arthur Adams believes they left in 1661. The disagreement stems from contradictory historical evidence between Radisson's journals, the Jesuit Relations, and other French documents. Adams presents a persuasive argument, based upon matching the term of office for the governor Avaugour, who is mentioned in the Lake Superior journal. He arrived in New France in August 1661, making it impossible that, if Radisson left in 1659, he was the governor who forbade their trek. There are other indications of a later departure date; for example, the reference to the coronation of the King and Queen of Spain. See *The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson*, ed. Arthur P. Adams (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Ross and Haines, 1961), iv, vii-xii , lii-liv note 4; Grace Nute, "Pierre Esprit Radisson," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 536; G. Warkentin,

Radisson reported that along the south shore of Lake Superior, "I was in a place...where many pieces of copper were uncovered...Seeing it so fair and pure, I had a mind to take a piece of it, but they [the Ojibwa guides] hindered me, telling my brother [Groseilliers] there was more where we were to go." He claimed that he had heard about another place, further along the shore, where there was "an isle, as I was told, all of copper. This I have not seen." The following spring, after wintering at an Odawa village located inland from the western end of the lake, Radisson and Groseilliers met some Sioux. From them, the Frenchmen learned that "[i]n their country are mines of copper, of pewter, and of lead." Radisson also described Cree men, who lived north of the lake, as wearing copper ornaments.[44] The English investors were intrigued by Radisson's journal and instructed Radisson and des Groseilliers prior to their 1668 trial expedition to seek "the discovery of a new Passage into the South Sea and [to find] some Trade for Furrs Mineralls and other considerable Commodityes..."[45] Though this expedition found no mines, they brought back enough furs to warrant a more permanent trading operation. King Charles the Second of England provided a royal charter to the investors, now acting jointly as the Hudson's Bay Company, on 2 May 1670.

For centuries Europeans, including the English, had searched for a direct water-route through North America to the Pacific Ocean.[46] This as yet undiscovered passage

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ed., "Pierre Esprit Radisson," *Canadian Exploration Literature* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), 2.

[44] A. Adams, 121, 124, 143, 147. For earlier Native reports of copper, see James B. Griffin, "Early Historical Accounts of the Lake Superior Copper District," Lake Superior Copper and the Indians: Miscellaneous Studies of Great Lakes Prehistory, ed. J.B. Griffin (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), 32-45. The island referred to by Radisson is Isle Royale. In 1874 an above ground copper nugget was weighed at 5720 lbs. from this place.

[45] "Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company," 3.

[46] This passage was known as the Strait of Anian and first appeared on global maps of European origin in the second half of the sixteenth century. Though originally placed at the approximate latitude of the Bering Straight, by the late seventeenth century mapmakers moved the strait further south. However, by the early eighteenth century, as

represented the most efficient route from western Europe to China, Japan, and India. Not only did Asia produce much desired spices, teas, fabrics, and chinaware, but, from the perspective of the English, it represented an untapped market for British goods.[47] By the time the HBC was incorporated, it was certain this route must lie in the area now under the HBC's domain, and therefore would be protected by the English crown. The company, and through it England also, stood to gain substantial wealth from the route and therefore needed little encouragement to seek it out. Furthermore, as the company's governing London Committee soon discovered, the passage appeared to travel past a plentiful northern copper mine. Thus the quest for the rumoured copper mines became intertwined with the search for the elusive Northwest Passage.

For most of the remaining century, the HBC concerned itself in Rupert's Land with establishing posts and trading partnerships with local Natives, primarily the Cree. It was not until the second decade of the eighteenth century, with the company's infrastructure firmly in place, and its posts secure from French attacks, that it seriously considered one of its secondary mandates: searching for minerals. In 1713, the London Committee sent bayside governor Anthony Beale a list of locations at the southern end of the bay near Albany where, over preceding years, the committee had received reports of "a Black Vein of Metall very heavy and Glittering...a heavy Metall which Looks Like Copper Oare...a Transparent white Stone that Runs in Veins of a Blushing Red Colour...Veins of Metal Like Silver oare" and a "Bright white Metal." It then asked him to inform "all persons who Travell into any parts of the Countrey, that they find Like mineralls to

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the eastern coast of North America became familiar to Europeans, the hypothetical passage was once more placed to the northward linked with Hudson Bay. For example see either one of Pierre Mortier's 1705 map or J.B. Nolin's 1708 map. Information comes from Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage*, 12-13.

[47] Several personal conversations with Klaas Ruitenbeek, Curator, Near Eastern and Asian Civilizations, Royal Ontario Museum, February 1999. During the 17th and 18th centuries, part of the problem with setting up trade in Asia was that there was little interest in British goods.

observe the Places where Such Samples are Taken...& send the Samples."[48] In 1714, the summer following the Treaty of Utrecht, when the HBC sent James Knight to reclaim the more northerly York Fort from the French, it instructed him also to "Doe what you can to Discoveres all Mines or Mineralls...Sending us Samples thereof..." thus providing him with "Cruseables, Melting Potts, Borax &c for the Trial of Minerals."[49]

Once at York, Knight began to question incoming Native traders, particularly strangers, about minerals in their respective homelands. The following summer he sent HBC employee William Stewart along with a group of homeguard Cree and a Chipewyan woman to seek out her people. Up to this point the HBC had very limited interaction with the Chipewyan because the latter had to travel through enemy Cree territory to reach the nearest trading post. Knight wanted the Chipewyan woman and the homeguard Cree to work out a peace between their peoples. He instructed Stewart to witness this peace-making process, to encourage the Chipewyan to trap fur-bearing animals, as well as to inquire about minerals and any large rivers in their lands.[50]

When the party returned in May of 1716 it brought news that consumed Knight's imagination, and eventually his very life. The Chipewyan woman had persuaded a large group of her people to travel into Cree territory, with the Homeguard Crees' promises of safe passage, in order to meet the English traders.[51] They told Knight about the Neethsan-san-dazey,[52] the Far-off-metal River:

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[48] HBCA A.6/3 fo 110d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, Directions for Anthony Beale "for to Search after Mineralls"; A.6/3 fo 120d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, General Letter to Anthony Beale, 10 June 1713.

[49] HBCA A.6/3 fo 125, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, Instructions to James Knight, 25 May 1714; A.1/33 fo 97v, London Committee Minute Book, 1 June 1714, as cited in Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage*, 2.

[50] HBCA B.239/a/1 fo 43, York Factory Post Journal, 27 June 1715.

[51] Knight claimed that she had brought 160 Chipewyan men to Churchill. The women and children may have stayed on the approximate border of their territory, around Seal River. B.239/a/2 fo 27, York Factory Post Journal, 7 May 1716.

> For the Copper they tell me it is found in a River that Runs by the Side of a Great Mountain...and all the Bottom of that River is full of bitts of it that the Ground looks redd with it the water is very Shoaly sometimes when the Snow is Melted and Run of [off] not higher then their Anckles. There is no wood in y^e^ Countrys but little Scrubbed brush and that very thin...there is a vast Quantity of Buffalos Deer Martins & Bears but not much beaver...but lett things be never so difficult please to Spare me Life and health I will Endeavour to find a way both either by trade or Vessel.[53]

Knight also reported, via the Chipewyan, that at the mouth of the river there were islands and that the river emptied into a sea shaped like a bay.

Stewart described to Knight how they had proceeded always in a northwesterly direction in order to reach the Chipewyan woman's homeland.[54] This direction, at first, seemed to contradict what the returning group of Chipewyan had depicted as the route to the mines. In a series of chalk drawings and oral communications, they outlined a route which crossed seventeen rivers each parallel to the next. To Knight their map suggested that the Far-off-metal River emptied into Hudson Bay, but they themselves had reported that it emptied into another sea, which Knight erroneously concluded was the Western Sea.[55] Knight eventually postulated that at some point to the north of Churchill, the coast bent, like a northern tipped peninsula, so that the seventeenth river (the Far-off-metal

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[52] Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, vol. 1, 138. Tyrrell records the Chipewyan name for the river as the similarly sounding Tzan dézé, meaning Metal River. See Tyrrell, *The Coppermine Country* (1912), 4.

[53] HBCA B.239/a/2 fo 30, York Factory Post Journal, 10 May 1716. The Chipewyan explained that the river emptied into the Western Sea in another discussion; B.239/a/2 fo 32, York Factory Post Journal, 12 May 1716.

[54] HBCA B.239/a/2 fo 29, York Factory Post Journal, 9 May 1716.

[55] The Western Sea is the name given to the body of water believed to exist on the other side of the Northwest Passage. Its size and the precise nature of its connection to Asia was fodder for speculation. Knight's replication of the Chipewyans' map is listed as HBCA G.1/29. For details on the map see HBCA B.239/a/2 fos 31d, 32. The Chipewyan were, in fact, referring to the Arctic Ocean.

River) emptied into another body of water on the other side of the continent:

> I have had a great deal of further discourse with those Northern Indians about there Country they Still persist in it there is 17 Rivers from Churchill River to y^{e} Norwards but from furthere discourse I begin to think there may be a Passage or Straits that parts America from Asia and it is for this Reason after you are past the third River from Churchill they tell me there is no wood grows till they come to y^{e} 13th River and then there begins to grow wood again and all the other 4 Rivers the woods begins to grow bigger & thicker and the 17th River is bigger than any of the rest so that I believe they go round the Land w^{ch} if they did not it is Impossible that there should be more Wood to y^{e} Norward then to y^{e} Southward[.][56]

He believed that all that remained was to sail northward along the western coast until one rounded the top of Hudson Bay, where the continent either ended or gave way to a water passage, and then sail back south to the islands, and by them, to the Metal or Coppermine River. He was certain enough to request retirement from the company in order to lead two ships on a search for the river along the northwestern coast of Hudson Bay. Knight received the London Committee's permission and departed on the ill-fated voyage from London in the summer of 1719, with a number of iron-bound chests he was sure would soon be filled with copper nuggets or even gold dust.[57] Though Knight's theory was partly correct, in that he realized that the Chipewyan map was a figurative representation of the route, rather than a topographical one, his interpretation was lost upon future seekers of the mines and passage.

The Chipewyan's description of the local mines, as recorded by Knight in the York post journal, matches Hearne's eye-witness report from fifty years later: "[t]his mine, if it deserve that appellation, is no more than an entire jumble of rocks and gravel... Through these ruins there runs a small river; but no part of it, at the time I was there, was more than knee-deep."[58] Hearne's report also confirmed the Chipewyans' list of local flora and fauna and the general landscape, including the presence of islands and shoals just beyond the river's mouth.[59] Despite the Chipewyan's 1716 description that indicated that the Metal River could not be navigated by large ships, let alone by a canoe, the HBC, fueled by the determination of a number of inspired employees, persisted in believing that the value of these copper mines rested in part on their convenient location next to this river. Hearne himself portrayed his visit to the mines as constituting a shocking revelation:

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[56] HBCA B.239/a/2 fo 31d, York Factory Post Journal, 12 May 1716. The information the Chipewyans gave regarding the treeline was correct, but not for the reason supposed by Knight. In fact the northern limit of the treeline varies greatly as one heads west from Churchill, so that one can travel beyond it not far from Churchill only to re-enter forests farther to the northwest.

[57] Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, vol. 1, 85; Cooke and Holland, 53; Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey*, xii; Hearne (1958), lix-lx; George Woodcock, "Journeys from Hudson's Bay," *History Today* 19.8 (1969), 530.

> The Indians who were the occasion of my undertaking this journey, represented this mine to be so rich and valuable, that if a factory were built at the river, a ship might be ballasted with the oar, instead of stone...By their account the hills were entirely composed of that metal, all in handy lumps, like a heap of pebbles. But their account differed so much from the truth...[60]

In fact, documentary evidence reveals just the opposite. Throughout the time between Knight's meeting and Hearne's trip, the Chipewyan consistently maintained similar descriptions of the mine's and river's layout and location. Rather, it was the interpreters of these descriptions, dreaming of vast riches, who refashioned them into the mistaken myth. Chief Factor Richard Staunton, for example, wrote in 1719: "I am of a Opinion there is Considerable quantity of Copper towards those parts...the Old and Sage men does report, that it lyes...near the sea Side, under great hills...yett if we Can find a Communication by Navigation nothing Can hinder us from so rich a purchase."[61] The irony is that European reasoning, which rested on the tenets of logic and quantifiable measurements, distorted the truth.

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[58] Hearne (1958), 112.

[59] Hearne (1958), 105, 106, 107, 111.

[60] Hearne (1958), 112.

[61] HBCA B.42/a/1 fo 50, Churchill Post Journal, 12 June 1719, Chief Factor Richard Staunton.

So, of course, the London Committee continued to send instructions to its employees to search out minerals. Henry Kelsey, Knight's replacement at York Factory, was to obtain information from the Inuit and Chipewyan regarding the copper, but not to venture there himself due to the high risk to his own and other men's lives. Gradually, the committee realized the difficulties involved with seeking out the northern copper mines and revised its instructions to suggest that employees request the Inuit and Chipewyan to bring copper to the fort as other Natives did with furs. Interestingly, contrary to Knight's stated belief about the mine's location, the London Committee maintained that the mines lay bayside.[62] By 1725, with hopes that Knight's expedition would return from the Orient now diminished and in recognition of the logistics of reaching the copper, the London Committee deemed the northern mines to be too far away to be of any value. It conceded as much to Chief Factor Thomas Macklish of York Factory: "[a]s to the Copper Mines, they being placed at so great a distance, we fear the Trade in that Commodity will come to little," and to Chief Factor Richard Norton at Churchill: "Wee take notice of the Acct. given you by the Northern Indians concerning y:^{e} Copper Mines, and since they are at so great a distance cannot expect any advantage from thence."[63] As far as the company was concerned, the search was over.

Nevertheless, elsewhere across the Atlantic, interest in the Northwest Passage and the copper mines remained active. Unfortunately for the HBC, this interest was perpetuated by longstanding myths and rumours which ran contrary to what company employees had experienced and learned. Followers of these fictitious tales saw the HBC's inactivity as criminal, a deliberate act to hurt the British economy by denying access to the mines and the passage. Many believed the HBC knew the route and the location but kept this information secret. A wealthy Irish landowner and parliamentarian decided to take the supposedly negligent company to task: his name was Arthur Dobbs. He had read numerous exploration accounts and reports from the HBC's chief rivals, the French.[64] Dobbs was particularly intrigued with a passage from Nicholas Jérémie's reminiscences of his time at York, then called Fort Bourbon, about the northern region:

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[62] HBCA A.6/4 fo 48d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Henry Kelsey, 1 June 1720; A.6/4 fos. 59d, 60, letter to Henry Kelsey, 24 May 1722; A.6/4 fo 74, letter to Nathanial Bishop, Churchill Factory, 17 May 1723.

[63] HBCA A.6/4 fos 95d, 98, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letters to Thomas Macklish, York Factory, and Moses Norton, Churchill, 19 May 1725.

> They have a mine of native copper in their country, where this metal is so abundant and so pure that, without any smelting but just as they pick it up at the mine, it is hammered between two stones and they make whatever they want out of it. I have seen this copper very often, as our natives [Cree] always bring some back when they go to war in those parts.[65]

Passages such as this convinced Dobbs not only of the existence of the passage through North America to Asia, but also of lucrative mineral wealth along its shores:

> tho' they [the HBC] are fully informed of a fine Copper Mine on a navigable Arm of the Sea North-westward of Whale Cove, and the Indians have offered to carry their Sloops to it, yet their Fear of discovering the Passage puts Bounds to their Avarice, and prevents their going to the Mine, which by all Accounts is very rich; yet those who have been at Whale Cove own, that from thence Northwards is all broken land, and that after passing some Islands, they from the Hills see the Sea open, leading to the Westward...[66]

In 1731 Dobbs produced a seventy-page document arguing for the existence of the passage with an entrance somewhere along the northwestern coast of Hudson Bay.[67] His conviction was further enforced when Captain Christopher Middleton, a former HBC employee and fellow member of the Royal Society, provided Dobbs with unauthorized access to company documents pertaining to the HBC's searches. Upon meeting Dobbs in 1735, Middleton revealed that Captain Scroggs had been a poor navigator and thus incapable of performing an adequate search for the entrance to the water passage.[68] This news, plus Middleton's promise to seek out more information from within the HBC, stimulated Dobbs to approach the company with the idea of sponsoring yet another voyage to seek out the mysterious waterway.

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[64] In later publications Dobbs listed as evidence the journals of Martin Frobisher (1576-78), John Davis (1585-87), Thomas Button (1612), Luke Fox (1631), and Thomas James (1631).

[65] Jérémie was governor at York, then called Fort Bourbon, during the French occupation until Knight reclaimed it in 1714. Though no journals survive from the French Compagnie du Nord, in 1720 Jérémie's account appeared under the title *Twenty Years of York Factory*. It has been reprinted and edited by R. Douglas and J.N. Wallace, *Twenty Years of York Factory 1694-1714: Jérémie's Account of Hudson Strait and Bay*, trans. from the 1720 French ed. (Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott, 1926), 20. Dobbs quoted this passage almost verbatim: see Dobbs, *An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, orig. pub. London: J. Robinson, 1744 (Yorkshire, England and New York: S.R. Publishers and Johnson Reprint Corporation 1967), 19.

[66] Dobbs, *Account of the Countries*; as cited in Tyrrell, *The Coppermine Country* (1912), 9.

Dobbs had the necessary business, political, and social connections to ensure that he would be heard by the HBC and the British Admiralty. By the time he met Captain Middleton, his titles included Mayor of Carrickfergus, high sheriff of county Antrim, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Surveyor-General and Engineer-in-Chief for Ireland.[69] Through these connections, Dobbs gained an audience with Sir Charles Wager, First Lord of the Admiralty. Though Wager remained unconvinced of Dobbs's argument for the existence of a passage beginning in Hudson Bay, he nonetheless agreed to introduce Dobbs to Sir Bibye Lake, then Governor of the HBC. Dobbs managed to persuade the governing committee to authorize one more search.[70] In July 1737, two HBC sloops set sail from Churchill along the western coast of Hudson Bay. The party had instructions to stimulate trade with the Inuit, measure tides, take ore samples, and explore inlets for the possible entrance way to the passage. While trading at Whale Cove, south of Marble Island, sloop captain James Napper died suddenly. The other captain, Robert Crow of the *Musquash*, decided the most prudent action was to return immediately to Churchill. Neither ship had ventured northward beyond the known coastline.[71]

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[67] This document is reprinted in part in *Voyages in Search of a Northwest Passage 1741-1747, Volume 1, The Voyage of Christopher Middleton 1741-1742*, eds. William Barr and Glyndwr Williams, The Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, vol. 177 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1994), 9-36.

[68] Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage*, 31-33, 40-41. Williams notes that copies of Dobbs's manuscript, though never published, are contained in both the Dobbs Papers (a reproduction of the collection is located in the National Archives of Canada) and in the HBCA. See also Cooke and Holland, 59-60; Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping 1670-1870* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 32. Barr and Williams have reprinted key letters between Dobbs and the HBC, and between Dobbs and Middleton, in *Voyages in Search of a Northwest Passage 1741-1747, Volume 1*.

[69] Dodge, *Northwest by Sea*, 191.

Clearly the HBC underestimated Dobbs's determination. In subsequent years he proved unreasonable and unwavering in his intention to end the HBC's monopoly over Rupert's Land.[72] Initially however, the London Committee intentionally misled their newest critic, believing he would be content with the knowledge that the sloops had failed to locate the passage entrance in Hudson Bay and satisfied with the company's efforts to cooperate. In a letter to Dobbs, Governor Lake reported that the voyage lasted from early spring until late August, when in fact the ships had been away for little more than one month. Little did Lake know that Dobbs had found out the truth from his insider informant, Captain Christopher Middleton. Now armed with proof of the HBC's intent to deceive, Dobbs became convinced that the company had withheld from public purview a treasure trove of geographical information.[73]

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[70] Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs Esquire 1689-1765* (London: The Bodley Head, 1958), 44-46; Dodge, 191-92.

[71] Clarke, 48; Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage*, 44.

[72] Dobbs's frustration with the HBC in trying to organize expeditions in search of the NWP expanded to an overall dislike of monopolistic businesses. He helped stimulate another enquiry into the validity of the HBC's monopoly in Rupert's Land, but strangely enough, his proposal to replace the HBC consisted of starting another monopoly, but in his name. In the HBCA is the collection of documents pertaining to the Parliamentary Select Committee of Enquiry on the State and Condition of Countries Adjoining Hudson's Bay, held in 1749. Included in this collection is a 66 page letter from Dobbs outlining his version of the history of the search for the passage and a lengthy outline of why the HBC failed to find it and why the British should continue the search. It also contains a petition brought before the committee by Dobbs and seven other people to create a new company charged with finding the passage. The new company also proposed to settle the land and prevent French access to furs in Rupert's Land, two things the HBC had not done. This proposal demonstrates how little Dobbs understood the fur trade since European settlements would have compromised Native traders' range of trapping grounds. Furthermore, much of this land was not suited to agriculture, which would have been the basis of these proposed settlements. Incidently, Dobbs and company requested that in exchange for the performance of these tasks they required their own charter, ownership of any lands they discovered, exclusive trading rights, and all the same privileges currently enjoyed by the HBC. The parliamentary committee dismissed Dobb's claims, and permitted the HBC's charter to stand. See HBCA E.18/1 fos 112-113d, 114-115, Before the Attourney's Solicitor General...., and "Remarks upon the Allegations and Prayers of the Petition."

For the next decade and more, using the Northwest Passage as his reason, Dobbs resolved to have the HBC's charter revoked in order to open up the area to other British businesses: namely, his own similarly structured company. He oversaw two more attempts to search for the passage along the bay's western coast and launched a paper war against the HBC. In 1741 the trusted Middleton sailed into Hudson Bay on Dobb's behalf but could not answer the latter's expectations: "there is no Hope of a Passage to encourage any further Trial between Churchill and so far as we have gone; and if there be any further to the Northward, it must be impassable for the Ice."[74] Unsatisfied, Dobbs turned on Middleton, believing that his former informant had resumed allegiance to the HBC and was hiding the truth; in fact, he accused Middleton of deliberately sailing the wrong direction and altering his charts. But Middleton's real error lay in his failure to explore Wager Bay fully, thus convincing Dobbs that the bay was truly the mouth of a large river and could well be the passage entrance.[75] But with sound reasoning, Middleton was able to fend off Dobbs. Interestingly, Middleton challenged Dobbs regarding the copper mines' location, reasoning that they could not be alongside Hudson Bay, nor could they be along a navigable Northwest Passage:

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[73] Dobbs, *An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay* (London, 1744), 10-11; Dodge, 192-93; Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage*, 44-45.

[74] Middleton to Dobbs in Dobbs, *An Account*, 103, as cited in Dodge, 196 and Clarke, 53.

[75] Dodge, 196. On Wager Bay, see Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage*, 77. A list of the pamphlets includes: Dobbs, *Criticism*, filed with the Admiralty (1743); Middleton, *A Vindication of the Conduct of Captain Middleton* (1743); Dobbs, *Remarks upon Captain Middleton's Defence* (1744); Middleton, *A Reply to the Remarks of Arthur Dobbs* (1744); Middleton, *Forgery Detected* (1745); Dobbs, *A Reply to Captain*

> All the Indians I have ever conversed with; who were at the Copper-mine, agree in this; That they were two Summers going thither, pointing towards the north-west and Sun-setting, when at Churchill; and that where this Mine is, the Sun, at a certain Season of the Year, keeps running round the Horizon several times together, without setting. Now we know from the Principles of Cosmography, that this cannot be true of any place, whose latitude is less than 67 or 68 Degrees, even allowing for the Effects of Refraction...Now it will appear, from a just trigonometrical Computation, that Churchill being in Latitude 59°, and the Mine in Latitude 67°, and the Bearing N.W. the difference of Longitude between Churchill and the Mine is 17° 45'. But Wager River's Entrance being in Latitude 65° 20', and 10 Degrees of Longitude east of Churchill, the Difference of Longitude between the Mouth of the River and the Mine is 27° 45', and their Distance in the Arch of a great Circle, or their nearest Distance, no less than 700 Miles. From what I have here made out concerning this Mine, and the way to it, upon the Report of the Indians...it follows...
>
> 1st. That neither Wager River, nor any other River or Sea, does extend so far westward, from any Part of Hudson's Bay in less than Latitude 65°, as to cross the Rout that lies between Wager River and the Mine. And,
>
> 2ndly, That if there be any Passage at all, it must run up so high northward, as to cross the Parallel of 67° on the East Side the Mine, and consequently must be frozen up, and absolutely unnavigable the whole Year.[76]

Middleton's Answer (1745); Middleton, *A Reply to Mr. Dobbs Answer to a Pamphlet Entitled Forgery Detected* (1745). In midst of the debate Dobbs published his lengthy criticism of the HBC entitled *An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay* (London, 1744).

[76] *A vindication of the Conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton in a late voyage on board His Majesty's Ship Furnace, by Capt. C. Middleton* (London, 1743), 41; as cited in Tyrrell, *The Coppermine Country*, 6-7. Tyrrell notes that the correct difference of longitude between Churchill and the mines is 11° 45'. He also notes that the actual distance is closer to 900 miles from Churchill to the mines. Nonetheless, Middleton's reasoning turned out to be much closer to the truth than that of Dobbs.

In order to maintain the belief that the passage lay in Hudson Bay, Dobbs performed feats of information modification, chiefly by relying on selective testimonies of disgruntled HBC employees. That Dobbs' views gained any currency at all was mostly due to his ability to have his ideas published, again and again and again. When he was unable to verify Middleton's deception Dobbs organized yet another voyage, once more unsuccessful, to Hudson Bay in 1747. On board was one Henry Ellis, a surveyor, mineralogist, and hydrographer, who for reasons unknown and despite what he witnessed felt compelled to end his written account of the failed mission as follows: "for though we did not discover a north-west passage...we returned with clearer and fuller proofs... that evidently such a passage there may be."[77] With these words, he extended the lifespan of the myth.

Arthur Dobbs's attacks culminated in an enquiry by the British government into the state of the HBC's business, and the rationale for continuing its protective charter. Launched in 1749, the special committee soon received voluminous documentation from Dobbs supporting his case against the company. Included was a letter to the Attorney's Solicitor General stipulating that the HBC had "not effectually or in earnest made a Search for said Passage" and had "concealed the same and obstructed others in the Discovery thereof." By now, Dobbs had abandoned all pretense of a factually based account, clearly ignoring the Napper and Crow attempt, or the fact that the HBC had sheltered the crews of the two Dobbs' expeditions. He went on to claim in this same letter, once more incorrectly, that the company connived to permit the French to "Encroach, Settle, and Trade" in Rupert's Land "to the great Loss of great Britain." Not surprisingly, Dobbs ended his petition with a proposal to set up his own company, promising to search diligently for the passage, settle the land, and prevent French intrusion. In exchange, he requested only that his company receive the same privileges as the HBC, including exclusive trade rights and a protective charter. Included in evidence designed to dismiss these accusations, the HBC observed that Dobbs's petition was nothing more than a poorly cloaked "pretense to deprive the Company of their property."[78] The HBC successfully weathered the enquiry and returned to business as usual.

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[77] Douglas MacKay, *The Honourable Company* (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrili Co., 1936), 78. On Ellis see also Clarke, 66.

All matters were not resolved, for during the investigation a number of former company employees testified to the existence, quality, quantity, and accessibility of the northern copper mines. After nearly fifty years, the rumours of mineral wealth persisted. Alexander Brown, a surgeon during Richard Norton's time, claimed "he had heard the late Mr. Norton say he was at this Mine, and that a considerable quantity of Copper might be brought down."[79] As it often is with events long past and second-hand information, Brown muddled the facts; Richard Norton had travelled with Chipewyans from York Factory to the future site of Churchill and then briefly inland with them, but he was not gone long enough to have made the journey to the copper mines. One of the more interesting aspects of Brown's testimony concerns the existence of a Northwest Passage connecting the copper mines to Hudson Bay. He testified to the following:

> That he never heard of a Copper Mine on the large Arm of the Sea, but the Ore is brought down by Canoes to the open Sea; and that Rivulet which washes the said Copper is not known to have any Communication with Hudson's Bay, the Mine being about Fifteen Miles from the open Sea, by the Accounts of the Indians.[80]

Though brought forth to suggest that the HBC had secreted away geographical knowledge on this subject, Brown's words contested Dobbs's theory and supported Middleton's and Knight's, both of whom faithfully repeated Chipewyan directions. But with the HBC secure in the validity of its charter, it would be left up to company men alone to solve the mystery.

Published attacks against the company and its charter continued after the 1749 enquiry but did not gain sufficient attention to warrant further legal or parliamentary challenges (at least for another century). In 1752, Joseph Robson, a surveyor and stonemason who had served at York and Churchill, published *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay, from 1733 to 1736, and 1744 to 1747.* Robson was bitter and resentful toward the HBC because the London Committee had dismissed his concerns, which turned out to have merit, about the fortification of its posts. He had testified before the select committee in 1749, but his words carried little impact.[81] Robson believed the mines were accessible and that there were persons within the company who knew the route well, claiming that he heard Knight boast "he knew the way to the place as well as to his bedside." He suggested that upon Knight's disappearance "some in the Company said...that *they did not value the loss of the ship and sloop as long as they were rid of those troublesome men.*"[82] According to historian Glyndwr Williams, there is sufficient evidence to believe that a portion of Robson's book was in fact mostly written by Arthur Dobbs, who no longer possessed the credibility to publish further criticisms under his own name about the HBC's failure to exploit the mines or reveal the passage's location.[83] If this scenario is true, then it explains why Robson's lacklustre performance in front of the select committee could have been transformed into this vitriolic and imaginative critique. Soon thereafter Dobbs left Britain for North America as the new governor of North Carolina.[84]

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[78] HBCA E.18/1 fos. 112-113, 115, Parliamentary Select Committee of Enquiry on the State and Condition of Countries Adjoining Hudson's Bay, held in 1749- Miscellaneous Papers.

[79] Report 1749, 226; as cited in Tyrrell, *The Coppermine Country*, 7-8.

[80] Report 1749, 226; as cited in Tyrrell, *The Coppermine Country*, 15-16.

Back along the bay, the HBC faced new challenges. During the next decade it witnessed a decline in the number of furs arriving at its posts, although profits remained fairly consistent. Regardless of the reason for the decline, the London Committee began to consider diversifying operations at Churchill, in the form of inland treks to seek out new Native trading partners, northern coastal trade, whaling, and mining, in order to compensate for diminished returns at other posts. In fact, by the 1760s, the governing committee had selected Churchill as the heart of its new diversification efforts. It sent extra employees to the post, making Churchill the largest of its operations in Rupert's Land.[85] Not one of these projects met with success. As early as 1759 William Grover left on an inland trading mission with Oho-ae-tuck, a Cree trading captain, who fell ill and forced the party's return but three days after their departure.[86] In 1765, John Potts left Churchill charged with ensuring that the Cree came directly to the post instead of trading with the French along the way. Five days after his departure he also was forced to return, but this time the problem was a reappearance of his "fitts", which had not troubled him for nearly a year. He felt the stresses of inland travel had caused the eruption.[87] Inland travel remained an elusive challenge for Churchill employees. The London Committee also requested that Churchill's sloops be sent annually to explore the northwestern coast of the bay, seek out whales, and build trading relationships with the Chipewyan and Inuit. By 1765, it felt assured that the coast held no secret entrances to the Northwest Passage and discontinued the discovery component. It was at this time that the Chipewyan trading captain Heath'see and Doll the translator received instructions to negotiate peace among their bayside peoples in order to facilitate the HBC's trading efforts. With the hopes of locating a passage out of Hudson Bay dashed, the London Committee now emphasized the increasing importance of the whaling venture, in spite of the fact that no black whales had been caught and only a few sighted. It began to send out harpooners, extra sailors, and small whaling boats: this is the context in which Hearne joined the company. However, by the end of the decade, with consistently dismal reports incoming from Churchill's chief factor and sloop captains, the committee questioned the viability of the black whale venture too.[88]

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[81] MacKay, 81.

[82] Joseph Robson, *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay* (London, 1752), 15 (both quotations). Robson, or Dobbs as the case may be, is responsible for coining the phrase that the HBC "slept at the edge of a frozen sea." Robson, 6.

[83] Glyndwr Williams, "Arthur Dobbs and Joseph Robson: New Light on the Relationship between Two Early Critics of the Hudson's Bay Company," *Canadian Historical Review* 40 (1959), 133-35. Williams argues that Dobbs penned the sixty-four-page Appendix I of *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay.* Williams maintains that Dobbs "also revised those sections written by Robson;" namely, the seventy-five-page account describing life in Rupert's Land.

[84] Dodge, 210.

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[85] HBCA A.1/42 fo illegible, London Committee Minute Book, 26 February 1766. The committee decides to increase Churchill's numbers from 48 to 60, and most of the new employees are slated to work as sailors or harpooners - thus the rationale for hiring Hearne.

[86] HBCA B.42/a/52 fos. 40d, 41, Churchill Post Journal, 12 and 15 July 1759; A.11/13 fo 156, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, Instructions for William Grover by Ferdinand Jacobs, 12 July 1759.

[87] HBCA B.42/a/62 fos. 75, 76d, Churchill Post Journal 10 and 15 July 1765. Potts was the son of Churchill's former surgeon, of the same name, who had died the previous year. See A.11/14 fo 7, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, General Letter to the London Committee, 25 August 1764. It is possible that these fits were epileptic seizures, but there is no description of them other than as fits.

The committee's openness to revenue-increasing ideas in the 1760s was complemented by the interests of Churchill's chief factor, Moses Norton. Like his father, Richard, Moses possessed an abiding curiosity about the northern copper mines, regularly recording details of Chipewyan descriptions in the post journal and letters to his superiors. Appointed to govern Churchill in 1762, Norton undertook to ascertain the location of the copper mines as one of his first projects. He asked a valued peace-keeper and trading captain, Matonabbee, and another leader, Idotlyazee, to travel to the mines in order to bring back a new copper nugget, as well as to record their track on a map.[89]

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[88] During the summers of 1764 and 1765 no black whales were sighted around Marble Island. Many were sighted in 1766, but none caught. Finally in 1767 the whalers managed to kill and haul aboard one whale, even though many more had been seen. To do this they had to tow the carcass ashore the nearby island and then hoist it aboard the ship. They caught none during the next two seasons, although sightings continued. Finally in 1770; the whalers brought on board one already dead whale, plus two more. In 1771 the London Committee admitted that the fishery's costs, in terms of equipment and employees, outweighed profits, and even contemplated abandoning this branch altogether: "the Attempts at the Black Whale Fishery have proved fruitless..." See HBCA A.5/1 fo 132, p 262, London Correspondence Outwards - General, letter to Moses Norton, 14 May 1771. The only reason the HBC persevered in developing whaling operations derived from the captains' recurring opinions that to make the fishery successful such as, "Nothing wanted...Butt More hands to Despatch." See HBCA B.42/a/82 fo 14, Charlotte Brigantine Journal, 7 August 1770. See also A.11/14 fo 128, p 129, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Moses Norton, 5 September 1770.

There is reason to question the standard account of the two leaders' trip. This story has them leaving in 1762 together for the copper mines, returning five years later.[90] While it is certain they arrived at Churchilll in 1767 in one another's company, at least according to the entry in the Churchill Post Journal, the entry concerning their departure is decidedly vague. It is not clear exactly when Matonabbee left and whether Idotlyazee was with him at the time. The main indication that Matonabbee left for the copper mines in the company of Idotlyazee comes from Hearne's recounting of Matonabbee's own tale of his life.[91] Indirect evidence that Norton assigned them the task in 1762 is found in a letter from the London Committee in 1768, responding to Norton's letter of 1767, in which he mentions the leaders' five year absence.[92] Norton implies that he organized the project, and as Ferdinand Jacobs, Norton's predecessor, makes no reference to the plan, Norton would have had to have met with the leaders after he became chief factor on 1 September 1762. Two groups of Chipewyans came into the fort that fall, one on 15 November and the other on 18 December.[93] There is no mention in journals or letters from this time of Norton's request or that Matonabbee or Idotlyazee were among the visiting parties.

By monitoring the presence of the key Chipewyan figures of Keelshies, Idotlyazee, and Matonabbee, who are noted in a variety of HBC journals and letters, it becomes clear that the root of the problem with the standard account lies with the date 1762. If one looks further back into the year, to the time of Ferdinand Jacobs' tenure, there is a reference to an outbreak of war between two groups of Cree (Beaver River Indians and Athapuscow Indians - the latter also known as the Athabasca Cree) against the "farthest Northern Indians", the people of Matonabbee, Keelshies, and Idotlyazee.[94] According references made by Jacobs, and later by Samuel Hearne, Matonabbee led the initiative to broker peace between his people and these more distant Athapuscow [Athabasca] Cree, a project he had worked on for the past year. On 1 August 1761, Jacobs wrote: "Sent a Young Northern Indian man who is a Proficient in the Languages...to Keep Pace [peace] with the Southern Indians [Cree]...who may Now be jealous that those Strangers have got to the Fountain Head of Trade [Churchill]."[95] Jacobs must have meant Matonabbee, who had lived at Churchill for many years during his youth, and who could speak Cree, English, and of course his native Chipewyan. Matonabbee himself also told Hearne that he had led the way to peace sometime during Jacobs' tenure: "Jacobs, then Governor at Prince of Wales's Fort, engaged him, when but a youth, as an Ambassador and Mediator between the Northern Indians and the Athapuscow Tribe."[96]

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[89] For more on the life history and career of Matonabbee see Heather Rollason Driscoll, "Matonabbee," *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

[90] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* (1958), xiii; Helm, "Matonabbee's Map," 32; E.E. Rich, *History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, vol.2 (1960), 45.

[91] Hearne (1958), 224, 227.

[92] HBCA A.5./1 fo 89, p 176, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to Moses Norton 25 May 1768.

[93] HBCA B.42/a/59 fos. 14, 19, Churchill Post Journal.

That same year, while in Athapuscow country, Matonabbee negotiated the freedom of Keelshies, an older Chipewyan leader, and his family from the Cree.[97] Then, on 4 July 1762, eighteen Chipewyan, who appear to have been involved with this latest skirmish, managed to avoid the Cree and make it to Churchill.[98] Matonabbee could well have been among them, and it also seems likely that the group included Keelshies because, shortly thereafter, Keelshies and one other Chipewyan man volunteered to go aboard the *Churchill* Sloop for the purpose of identifying the water route to the copper mines.

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[94] HBCA B.42/a/56 fo 41d, Churchill Post Journal, 30 June 1762.

[95] B.42/a/55 fo 45d, Churchill Post Journal 1 August 1761.

[96] Hearne (1958), 225.

[97] Hearne (1958), 225-27.

[98] HBCA B.42/a/56 fo 42, Churchill Post Journal, 4 July 1762.

Keelshies led Jacobs and Captain William Christopher to believe he was familiar with the track; however, Christopher eventually realized that these men knew nothing about the coast or river systems: "what we get from them is only grasping in the dark."[99] Once more, the HBC's ignorance of the fact that there were two separate Chipewyan territories contributed to disappointing results. Matonabbee told Hearne that after leaving the Athapuscow [Athabasca] Cree, he returned again the following winter, spending the summer among them instead of going onto the barrens to hunt caribou.[100] This would have been the summer of 1763. Matonabbee claimed he revisited these Cree for several successive seasons after the initial visit, before being satisfied that the two peoples had achieved a lasting peace. This time line indicates that Matonabbee finished his brokering between 1764 and 1765.

Documentation from the HBC supports Matonabbee's oral testimony that the Chipewyan-Cree peace negotiations delayed Idotlyazee's and Matonabbee's trip until 1765. Idotlyazee stayed in the general vicinity of Churchill after 1762. On 16 February 1763 Moses Norton sent gifts specifically "to a Northern Ind^n Leader Call^d Idotlyazee to Incourage his tribe in geting furrs for Trade."[101] Normally Churchill's chief factors sent gifts only when they believed that the intended recipient was fairly close to the fort. If Norton believed that the two leaders were already on route to the mines he would not have bothered to send the gifts, and certainly never would have risked offending Matonabbee by neglecting to send him presents as well. All Churchill documents indicate that the Chipewyan eschewed canoeing and preferred travelling substantial distances once the waterways had frozen. Should Idotlyazee have spent the winter trapping, then he likely would not have tried to leave for the copper mines until the rivers had frozen over the following fall or winter of 1763-64 - much as Matonabbee did when he led Hearne to the mines in the winter of 1769-70. But Matonabbee was still involved with the Athapuscow Cree at that time, so once more Idotlyazee would have had to wait. Moses Norton reported that Matonabbee was in the vicinity of Churchill in the summer of 1765, but Matonabbee did not come into the fort.[102] If, in fact, Matonabbee had yet to travel to the copper mines his actions are logical.

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[99] HBCA B.42/a/57 fo 19, Churchill Sloop Journal, 11 August 1762. After the voyage Keelshies appears to have remained around Churchill for a while, leaving sometime in the fall.

[100] Hearne (1958), 226-227.

[101] HBCA B.42/a/59 fo 26, Churchill Post Journal 16 February 1763. Given that Idotlyazee was one of the Chipewyan who followed the caribou herd north-west of Churchill, it is probable that he had visited the copper mines before. It is just not certain, and perhaps even unlikely, that he did so at this time.

The Chipewyan from Matonabbee's homeland had always been clear that a round trip from Churchill to the copper mines took no more than two to three years, which left time for taking advantage of seasonal foods like caribou and fish.[103] Matonabbee's later round trip to the mines with Hearne lasted 18 months, but they did not participate in any serious caribou hunts. If Matonabbee and Idotlyazee left in the winter of 1765-66, they could have reached their destination and been back to the fort as early as the summer of 1767. Norton wrote in the journal entry for 15 August 1766 that "y^e Leader I have sent out on y^e Searc [sic] of Rivers ye Cooper [sic] mine &c will not be in this Summer but Expect him Early next Summer..."[104] It certainly appears that Matonabbee and Idotlyazee were on their way by this time.

Meanwhile, Moses Norton continued to collect information on the mines from all incoming Dene. In 1764 the puzzling aspects of the mines' location were confirmed yet again. In "a Serious Conversation" with Norton, a Chipewyan trader new to Churchill,

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[102] HBCA B.42/a/62 fo 80, Churchill Post Journal, 3 August 1765.

[103] In 1724, Chipewyan and a Copper Indian from the copper mine area told Moses' father, Richard, that it took three winters. See HBCA B.42/a/4 fo 30, Churchill Post Journal, 22 June 1724. Keelshies told Moses Norton that it took two years to make it to the northern sea and back. See B.42/a/59 fo 44d, Churchill Post Journal, 17 June 1763.

[104] HBCA B.42/a/64 fo 52d, Churchill Post Journal 15 August 1766. In fact, Keith Crowe reports that Matonabbee left for the copper mines in 1765, but provides no reason as to why his choice of departure date differs from mainstream academic opinion. See Keith Crowe, *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada* (1991), 78.

Owl-eye, told him that two mines lay near a large river that emptied into a sea.[105] The mines lay far enough northward that in June the sun never set. It had been well established by Captain Christopher Middleton that for this to be true, the mines must lie north of 67° Latitude, and Norton himself postulated that the mines could be beyond 70°, yet none of the HBC's coastal explorations had found this place. With renewed hope that the mines could be located, the London Committee responded with encouragement and excitement to Norton's questioning: "We shall be glad to hear the result of your Enquiries among the Indians considering the probable Course of any Rivers further North than the Sloop sailed in her three last voyages."[106] Owl-eye stipulated that the Inuit also frequented the mines. Yet that same summer when Doll, the HBC's Inuit translator, queried the bayside Inuit on this matter and showed them a copper nugget, they maintained that "they did not know of any Copper Mine."[107] Here the HBC's confusion regarding the existence of two distinct groups of Inuit and Chipewyan - Hudson Bay and Arctic - is once again revealed. Their ignorance would continue to confound them and contribute further mistakes in their attempts to resolve the mystery of the mines.

Finally, in August of 1767 Matonabbee returned, accompanied by Idotlyazee, and in possession of copper nuggets and a map of their route drawn onto deerskin, which Norton promptly traced onto paper.[108] Their arrival preceded the departure of the

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[105] According to Moses Norton, Owl-eye was a phonetic rendering of the Chipewyan name meaning a ledge of woods (HBCA B.42/a/60 fo 67d, Churchill Post Journal, 5 August 1764). Hearne encountered "Oule-eye" on his way to the mines during the third attempt. The leader was in the company of Copper Indians, who had robbed Hearne of many things days before the expedition's arrival at the Coppermine River (Hearne (1958), 91-92). Owl-eye made periodic visits to Churchill in the capacity of trading captain into the 1770s: he appears as "Oul-ly" on 2 July 1773 arriving at Churchill in the company of Keelshies or "Keel-cliss" (B.42/a/86 fo 59).

[106] This response stemmed from Norton's report regarding Matonabbee's trek and his conversation with Owl-eye. HBCA A.5/1 fo 67 p 133, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to Moses Norton 15 May 1765.

[107] HBCA B.42/a/61 fo 1d, Churchill Sloop Journal, 2 August 1764.

[108] HBCA B.42/a/67 fo 63, Churchill Post Journal, 9 August 1767.

London-bound ship, so Norton was able to send home word of their return and the copper. He decided to keep the deerskin map for further study. Norton also informed his employers of his recent serious health complaints, including rheumatism and a debilitating disorder which led him to believe at one point during the past year that his death was imminent, and thus made a request for one year's leave to England.[109] The following summer, with the arrival of the London ship in mid-August, the London Committee sent approval for his restorative trip to England and expressed their keen interest in learning more about Matonabbee's map.[110] Now in London, Norton personally presented the map to the London Committee at their weekly meeting on Wednesday 18 January 1769. The presentation consisted of a redrawing of Matonabbee's map, with amendments made by Norton in the attempt to understand the mines' location.[111] However, without having travelled to the mines himself, Norton's amendments remained guesswork at best. Someone still had to translate the map into European coordinates to satisfy the company. The following Wednesday, the governing committee approved Norton's proposal for sending an HBC man overland to the mines following the Chipewyan track. His plan coincided with the London Committee's growing awareness that other avenues of diversification had proved problematic if not impossible. Once more Chipewyan reports concerning the location of the mythical mines captured their interest.

In a much more recent effort to prove that the Chipewyan maps were reliable tools, anthropologist June Helm painstakingly translated Chipewyan descriptions of the route to the copper mines, including the one described to Knight and then Matonabbee's later rendition, into European-styled configurations: "[b]y resorting to scissors and paste, the resulting pieces of Matonabbee's map can be reoriented and reproportioned to align, very crudely to be sure, with the real shape and distances of continental Canada west of Hudson Bay and north of the Churchill River."[112] Even so, she expresses puzzlement as to the Chipewyan rationale for deliberately placing the rivers parallel to each other: "it [is] somewhat surprising that the mouths of the Coppermine and Burnside rivers are positioned directly north to south in relation to one another rather than west to east...on the map, for Matonabbee and Idotlyazee had been to both places. Even in midsummer, without the stars as aids, the rising and falling circuit of the sun in the heavens would have given them directional orientation."[113] Historian Glyndwr William concurs:

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[109] HBCA B.42/a/67, fos 17, 22d, 26d, 32, 35d, 48d, 50, Churchill Post Journal 12 November and 15 December 1766, 9 January, 6 and 26 February, 21 and 30 May 1767. It is in February that he becomes convinced he is about to die. He makes out a will and even requests constant accompaniment in the event he should suddenly drop dead.

[110] HBCA A.5/1 fo 89, p 176, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter from the London Committee to Moses Norton, 25 May 1768.

[111] See June Helm, "Matonabbee's Map," *Arctic Anthropology* 26.2 (1989), 32. Regarding Norton's presentation, see HBCA A.1/43 fo 76d, London Minute Book, 18 January 1769.

> This map, endorsed with notes in the factor's handwriting, presents a fine puzzle to the investigator, because the west coast of Hudson Bay is shown extending as far north as the Coppermine River. Since the river actually lies upon an east-west coast, the draft brought home by Norton would approximate to a modern map only if the coast marked on it swung westward near 'Sturgeon River'...The significance of the map...was that it implied a clear run for a ship from Churchill along the west coast of the Bay to the Coppermine River, and showed no indication of the Frozen Strait or Repulse Bay which Middleton had asserted blocked the way to the north.[114]

Matonabbee, or any of the Chipewyan responsible for the earlier depictions during James Knight's time, did not deliberately intend to mislead the English copper-seekers; rather, the maps remain misunderstood because Europeans did not know how to read them.

The clearest indication that the Chipewyan maps faithfully represented the route to the copper mines comes from the work of historian Ted Binnema. Though his work pertains specifically to the Blackfoot, the cultural underpinnings to their mapmaking appear to hold for the Chipewyan, for both of whom travel was an essential part of their existence. Binnema argues that Blackfoot maps contained very specific types of information, most commonly associated with the need for a nomadic people to explain routes to hunting grounds and popular gathering places. He proposes that the maps were almost always accompanied by oral elaboration. As a result, the mappers drew only those geographical features specific to their immediate explanation. Because these features were reference points for the determination of a route, the Blackfoot tended to represent them not from a bird's eye view but as they would have seemed as one walked alongside them. Thus rivers and mountain ranges were often drawn as straight lines to indicate the act of travelling parallel to them or merely crossing beyond them. The distances between features on a map were represented by the expected time it would have taken to travel to them, not by physical distance. As well, the features are placed in the order one would have encountered them while travelling; thus, the Chipewyan representation of the seventeen rivers in a straight line is not indicative of cardinal direction but the order in which they would have been crossed.[115] But without this cultural key, Europeans continued their erroneous reading of Chipewyan maps and thus perpetuated the search for the mines along the western coast of Hudson Bay.

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[112] June Helm, "Matonabbee's Map," 37.

[113] Helm, 41. In other words, the mouth of the Coppermine River seems to lie above the Burnside River than beside each other on an east-west axis.

[114] Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage*, 133.

Fortunately for Samuel Hearne, his employers believed he possessed all the necessary qualifications for the proposed overland journey: abilities quite rare along the shores of Hudson Bay. He had demonstrated leadership during the goose hunts as well as on board the sloops. He had some experience travelling inland, such as his trip delivering the mail to York, and certainly exposure to extended stays in the woods during the off-season. Hearne could also write, a skill not shared by all the company's servants; furthermore, he wrote in a style equal to, if not better than the other sloop captains and Norton himself. As well, he was one of the few, other than the sloop captains, who knew how to take astronomical measurements to calculate latitude and longitude. Perhaps most importantly of all, Hearne made it clear to Norton and the London Committee that he wanted to go. Documentary evidence suggests that he did not forsee a future on the whaling ships and this overland expedition provided an opportunity to enter the land-service.[116] Hearne was keen to resolve the longstanding myth concerning the northern copper mines and the Northwest Passage and awaited only the arrival of a proper guide, the gathering of astronomical equipment, and the manufacture of the necessary sleds and clothing.

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[115] Theodore Binnema, "Indian Maps as Ethnohistorical Sources," a paper presented at the Thirtieth Annual Northern Great Plains History Conference, Brandon Manitoba, 27-30 September 1995, pages 1, 2, 9. Binnema is currently expanding his work on Native maps.

Revisiting the context leading to Hearne's involvement in the HBC's search for the northern copper mines has yielded a number of significant observations. The copper mines remained hidden from European eyes to this point largely because Europeans continuously misread Chipewyan directions to the mines. A review of the HBC's records demonstrates that the Chipewyan consistently described the same route to the mines, and that these descriptions in fact match the observations Hearne made when he visited this place. As well, HBC employees seemed unaware that there were two groups of Chipewyan - eastern and western - and that only the western Chipewyan regularly visited the northern mines. Thus, when HBC employees placed questions to the eastern Chipewyan about the mines and asked for ore samples, the failure to yield concrete evidence added to the HBC's confusion and the mines' mystery. This confusion about the two groups of Chipewyan continued to affect the HBC's search, for Chief Factor Moses Norton mistakenly chose eastern Chipewyan trading captains as guides for the first two, and failed, attempts to locate the mines - this story is examined in detail as part of the following chapter. It is also clear that Moses Norton's and the London Committee's selection of Samuel Hearne as the HBC representative for the expedition was logical, given that in the short time Hearne had worked for the company he had already demonstrated leadership abilities, plus he possessed the necessary mapping skills. The HBC's decision to choose Hearne fitted well with Hearne's own strong desire to find another line of work besides whaling. Exploring the story of Hearne's three attempts to locate the northern copper mines is the subject of the next chapter.

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[116] The London Committee informed Hearne that "as an Undertaking of this nature required the attention of a Person capable of taking an observation with respect to Longitude and Latitude and also of Distances and the Courses of Rivers with their Depths, We have fixed upon you especially as it is represented to Us to be of your own Inclination..." See HBCA A.5/1 fo 102, p 202, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to Samuel Hearne 26 May 1769.

CHAPTER 2
MYSTERIES UNMADE

The narrative account of Hearne's three attempts to locate the northern copper mines is a well known example of early Canadian literature. However, documentary evidence from the HBC Archives indicates that the portrayal in the published narrative of certain events and motivations for a few characters is incorrect. In this chapter I begin with a retelling of the overland expedition based on the published narrative, and then I examine how documentary evidence from the historical record provides an alternative view of Hearne's story.

It was now approaching November 1769. Chief Factor Moses Norton had his employers' permission to organize the search of the copper mines and he had in Samuel Hearne a volunteer for the journey who was skilled in celestial navigation. The season was ideal for travelling over the now frozen marshes, rivers, and tundra. What Norton lacked was a knowledgeable guide, preferably Chipewyan, as the destination lay in their homeland. Upon learning that Matonabbee, who had made the most recent map of the route to the mines, would not be coming to Churchill that fall and that Matonabbee's travelling companion, Idotlyazee, had died the previous summer of an infectious malady, Moses Norton nominated a newly made Chipewyan trading captain, spiritual leader, and peacemaker named Chachinahaw as Hearne's guide. Norton asked Chachinahaw to take Hearne to Matonabbee rather than directly to the mines.[1]

During Norton's absence in London the previous year, the temporary chief factor,

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[1] Norton believed that Matonabbee was among the Athapuscow [Athabasca] Cree with whom he had negotiated peace a few years back and subsequently visited frequently. HBCA A.11/14 fo 130d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, Orders and Instructions for M^r Samuel Hearne going on an Expedition to the Northward by land...by Moses Norton: "The Indians that accompanies you is to Conduct you to the Borders of the Athepeska Country, Where Captain Mat-to-nab-bee is to meet you in the Spring". See also Hearne, "Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), lxvii. Please remember that in cases where I have cited Glover's editorial comments on *A Journey*, I have credited him directly, but in cases where I have cited passages from the text of *A Journey*, I have cited Hearne as author.

John Fowler, had elevated Chachinahaw to the role of trading captain. It had been Chachinahaw, in the role of medicine man, who had prepared Idotlyazee's corpse. He had been a regular visitor to Churchill and brought in fresh meat, which Churchill's employees desired greatly during the long winter months. He had also accompanied the sloop *Churchill* on two successive trading missions along the west coast, and according to Fowler, had helped maintain the peace between the bayside Chipewyan and Inuit. In all accounts of his dealings with HBC personnel to this point, Chachinahaw appeared to be knowledgeable, respected, and reliable.[2]

Chachinahaw agreed to take on the commission and the expedition left Churchill on 6 November 1769. The group included Chipewyan families, homeguard Cree, two HBC employees, and Hearne. To Norton's surprise, the expedition returned only one month later on 11 December, scarcely the one and a half years that Norton had envisioned based on Matonabbee's description of the route.[3] Problems had begun when just a few weeks into the trek, Chachinahaw became despondent when he could not locate fresh food. He encouraged Hearne to return to Churchill, using "all the Perswasions he Could to make Us turn back," claiming that the land from here onward was barren and therefore devoid of wood and game.[4] They had travelled approximately due north from Churchill directly onto the tundra, a most inhospitable winter environment. But when the

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[2] HBCA B.42/a/70 fo 14, Churchill Post Journal, 12 November 1767; B.42/a/71 fo 27d, Churchill Sloop Journal, 1 and 8 August 1768; B.42/a/74 fos 13, 37d, 38d, Churchill Post Journal, 10 November 1768, 13 and 15 April 1769; B.42/b/15 fo 3, Churchill Correspondence Book, 17 January 1769; B.42/a/75 fos 31, 32, Churchill Sloop Journal 16 and 18 July 1769; B.42/a/78 fo 37, Churchill Sloop Journal, 27 July 1770. Chachinahaw participated in three trading missions on behalf of the HBC of which guiding Hearne was his third, and last, commission. Note: in the HBCA records his name is spelled variously as Che-chan-aha, Chachenaha, Che-chenhae, Che, chi, ne, hah, Chechenalia, and Cheecinshaw. The spelling I used in the thesis follows Hearne's preference.

[3] HBCA A.6/11 fo 62d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to John Fowler and Council, Churchill, 25 May 1769. The committee outlines their conversation with Norton about the organizational features of the trek.

[4] HBCA B.42/b/17 fo 2d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Samuel Hearne to Moses Norton, 21 November 1769. See also Hearne (1958), 3-4.

Englishmen remained determined to proceed, and managed to find a patch of scrubby woods two days later in spite of what Chachinahaw had told them, the Chipewyan guide then stopped trying to find food altogether. As if to cement the futility of proceeding farther, Chachinahaw then authorized the departure of the Chipewyan participants from the expedition group, leaving Hearne, the two HBC employees, and a few homeguard Cree to find their own way. When Hearne questioned the leader's actions, Chachinahaw explained that under the circumstances it was now all the more prudent for Hearne to return to Churchill, and that Chachinahaw himself was going to join other Chipewyan families in the southwest, well off the route to the mines, along which they had expected to intercept Matonabbee. Clearly Chachinahaw had no intention of proceeding and took actions that appeared to ensure that the expedition would fail. In a subsequent letter to the London Committee, Hearne claimed "they then all declar'd they was not acquainted with the rhoade..."[5] Without Chachinahaw or any of the other Chipewyan, the remaining expedition members had no hope of finding Matonabbee and returned to the post.[6]

After the first failure Hearne was willing to try again, but with Matonabbee still away another Chipewyan guide had to be found. Norton settled on Conne-e-quese, who had arrived at Churchill in poor health soon after Hearne had departed on the first attempt. Norton had employed the sickly Conne-e-quese as a hunter in exchange for a supply of English provisions. Conne-e-quese had not recovered by the time Hearne returned from the first attempt. On 14 December, Norton reported that Conne-e-quese and his companions were still ill with "Violent Colds and Coughs, and Sore throats which is at present an Epedemical disorder among them." The sickness persisted one month later; Norton sent Hearne to York for more medicine. After three weeks he returned (on 8 February) with the supplies and one week later he was preparing for the second attempt with the now recovered Conne-e-quese, and they departured the following week on 23

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[5] HBCA A.11/14 fo 140, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 16 February 1770.

[6] It is highly likely that the homeguard Cree had never ventured to the Athabasca Cree country. For the story of Chachinahaw's role in this first attempt see Hearne (1958), 3-4.

February 1770.[7] The new set of instructions no longer required that the expedition find Matonabbee first; instead, they were to proceed directly to the mines.[8] Leaving Churchill, the party consisted of Conne-e-quese and two other Chipewyan men, two homeguard Cree, and Hearne.[9] This time Hearne had decided against having other HBC employees come along because they received too little acknowledgement or respect from their Native companions. Hearne feared that in times of scarcity the HBC men would be the first to starve.[10]

They travelled northward until reaching the Seal River, and then, still on foot, they followed the river to the west. Once a good distance from the fort, Conne-e-quese introduced a series of stalling tactics (like Chachinahaw before him). At first Hearne believed the leader's explanations for staying along the Seal River instead of moving farther north, and these ranged from poor hunting, to poor fishing, to good fishing.[11] It was now the latter part of March and Conne-e-quese proposed to stay at the good fishing spot until May when they could take advantage of geese on their northward migration. Hearne felt his guide's reasons made sense and he recorded Conne-e-quese's words in the published narrative:

> The weather...is at this time too cold to walk on the barren grounds, and the woods from this part lead so much to the Westward, that were we to continue travelling in any tolerable shelter, our course would not be better than West by South West, which would only be going out of our way; whereas, if we should remain here till the weather permit us to walk due North, over the barren grounds, we shall then in one month get farther advanced on our journey, than if we were to continue travelling all the

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[7] HBCA B.42/a/77 fo 11, 13, 14d, 15, 15d, Churchill Post Journal, 14 December 1769, 15 January, 8, 16, and 23 February 1770.

[8] HBCA A.11/14 fo 132d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, Instructions for M^{r}. Sam^{l}. Hearne going to make a Second Attempt.

[9] Hearne (1958), 10.

[10] Hearne (1958), 9.

[11] Hearne (1958), 10-12.

remainder of the winter in the sweep of the woods.[12]

Finally, in late April, Conne-e-quese indicated to Hearne that it was now a good time to move onto the barren grounds, but instead of walking northward Conne-e-quese led the party back eastward along the Seal River. A few days later the guide suggested they stop to fish and hunt geese. The party stalled at this site until the middle of May.[13] Soon thereafter they met up with Conne-e-quese's family, whom Hearne hired to carry his luggage.[14] The party continued in an easterly direction along the Seal River until they reached a small branch that came from a northern direction. Throughout much of June the party followed this small river. Eventually they reached Yath-Kyed-whoie, which Hearne translated from Chipewyan to mean White Snow Lake. Here they met Keelshies, another one of Churchill's Chipewyan trading captains, who was heading to the post.[15] Keelshies also claimed to have visited the northern copper mines and suggested to Hearne that the Coppermine River was very shallow and full of shoals. This information ran contrary to what the HBC believed, and apparently Keelshies' account was not of sufficient merit to discontinue the expedition.[16] After Keelshies left, Conne-e-quese introduced another series of stalling tactics to forestall heading any farther to the north. Conne-e-quese led them "backward and forward, from place to place" and then eventually settled on a westward route. As they travelled they frequently met other Chipewyan on the same path so that by the 30th of July Hearne claimed there were 600 Chipewyan in the party. Shortly thereafter they intercepted the migrating caribou and stopped to take advantage of this bounty.[17] When they began to move again it was in a southwestern direction. Their stops and starts, their slow progress, and their ever-changing direction led Hearne to conclude that Conne-e-quese and his companions "ware entirely loste, never had been there [the copper mines] before -"[18]

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[12] Hearne (1958), 12.

[13] Hearne (1958), 17.

[14] Hearne (1958), 18. What Hearne perceived as stalling, may have been Conne-e-quese's deliberate attempt to reunite with his family. Also, Hearne wanted help with his load because the melting snow had made the sleds stick and traversing on foot exceedingly laborious.

[15] Yath-Kyed-whoie is found along the Kazan River; see Robert Coutts, *On the Edge of a Frozen Sea* (Parks Canada, Department of Heritage Collection, 1997), p 1.

[16] B.42/b/17 fo 6d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Norton, 6 July 1770. The significance of Keelshies' account is discussed below in the context of Hearne's portrayal of his own surprise at the nature of the Coppermine River.

In a way, it was fortunate for Hearne that on the 11th of August the wind knocked his quadrant over, breaking it, for he now had a reason to desist with this search for the copper mines. Hearne requested that Conne-e-quese lead them back to Churchill. Then some Chipewyan who had been travelling with them took Hearne's trade goods, ammunition, and supplies, leaving him only with his useless quadrant, some books (including his journal), a knife, an awl, a needle, a shaving razor, and some soap.[19] Conne-e-quese accompanied his charge toward Churchill but offered no assistance with hunting or clothing: "[i]n this forlorn state we continued our course."[20] Hearne and the two homeguard Cree suffered terribly from cold and hunger, but fortunately they met the long sought-after Matonabbee on the trail leading to Churchill. Matonabbee provided clothes and food, and agreed to take Hearne to the mines after the party first returned to Churchill.[21] Hearne arrived safely at Churchill on 25 November 1770, eight months and twenty-two days since he had last seen the post.[22]

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[17] Hearne (1958), 25. While the rationale for the party's movement may have seemed haphazard to Hearne it is probably that Conne-e-quese was waiting to meeting the others. For when he did they then moved to a place on the barren grounds where they intercepted the large herds of caribou. Given that the caribou were a significant part of the Chipewyan diet it is likely Conne-e-quese took the expedition party there deliberately.

[18] HBCA A.11/14 fo 142d, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 3 December 1770.

[19] Hearne (1958), 31-32.

[20] Hearne (1958), 29, 30, 33 (quotation).

[21] Though Hearne implies in the published Coppermine River narrative that meeting with Matonabbee was a shock on 20 September 1770, Hearne records knowledge of Matonabbee's proximity as early as 6 July. See HBCA B.42/b/17 fo 6d, Churchill

Since Matonabbee's arrival was imminent, Hearne had but a few days to prepare himself to depart from Churchill once more. It is likely that Norton informed him of the continuing troubles plaguing the black whale fishery and this may have been all the prompting Hearne required to renew his determination to stay in the land-service: "[n]otwithstanding the many difficulties and hardships which I had undergone during my two unsuccessful attempts, I was so far from being solicited on this occasion to undertake a third excursion, that I willingly offered my service."[23] His employers provided some hope of a future outside of whaling with the command for him to "embrace all opportunities to inform Yourself of the Indian Language and the manner of conducting Our Trade, that We may be able to employ you at the Factory in case the Fishery should be laid aside."[24] According to Norton, Hearne also took the time to prepare his notes, likely in the form of a clean and neat copy of the original journal, and map from the second attempt for submission to the London Committee.[25] On 7 December 1770, a mild winter's day, Hearne and Matonabbee, accompanied by the latter's large family, left Churchill on the third attempt to get Hearne to the mines.[26]

On this journey Hearne experienced many of the same elements present during the first two attempts, such as hunger and exposure. However, unlike his two predecessors,

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Correspondence Book, and Hearne (1958), 33.

[22] Hearne (1958), 34, 37.

[23] Hearne (1958), 38.

[24] HBCA A.5/1 fo 123 p 245, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to Samuel Hearne, 17 May 1770. For similar information see also A.6/11 fos 97d, 98, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Moses Norton and Council, 17 May 1770.

[25] HBCA B.42/a/80 fo 33, Churchill Post Journal, 3 December 1770.

[26] HBCA B.42/a/80 fo 22d, 7 December 1770. This time Hearne had decided against taking any homeguard Cree with him after the poor treatment the Cree had received from the Chipewyan on the second attempt.

Matonabbee proved to be a most resourceful guide for he was able to make progress toward the mines in spite of these harsh circumstances. They still stopped to take advantage of fish and game when it was plentiful, but Matonabbee did not permit the party to linger long. As had happened on the second attempt, the expedition met other Chipewyan at some of the popular hunting and fishing places. Each time the expedition party departed from one of these places its size grew. Initially most of the additional travellers were Matonabbee's relations or friends and Hearne believed they were travelling along with the party only until they found better hunting grounds.[27] In mid-May the expedition party reached Clowey Lake (near Lake Athabasca), a popular fishing ground and a favoured location to build canoes.[28] There, they met Chipewyan "from different quarters" who had gathered there for just these purposes. Hearne estimated that there were over two hundred people camped around the lake.[29]

Many of the Chipewyan at the lake were keen to accompany the expedition party to its destination; however, Matonabbee wanted to reach the mines during the summer and knew that a large group would slow their pace. On Matonabbee's part he encouraged most of his family and acquaintances to stay behind, promising to rendezvous with them on the return leg at a predetermined location. The core group now consisted of Matonabbee, two of his childless wives, his brother, a few trusted companions, and Hearne.[30] While still at Clowey, Hearne learned that many of the Chipewyan who had expressed interest in joining the expedition were not in search of better hunting grounds; instead, according to Hearne, these Chipewyan intended to kill the Inuit who often camped near the mines during the summer. To signal their determination, they prepared wooden shields that were designed to block the arrows fired by their would-be victims.[31] Hearne estimated that 150 of these Chipewyan followed the core expedition party when they left Clowey Lake.[32]

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[27] Hearne commented as such in March and April 1771 when the party had increased to approximately 70 members. The party included Matonabbee's brother. Hearne (1958), 55, 61.

[28] W.A. Fuller has attempted to cross-reference the lakes Hearne described, such as Clowey, with modern names. He uses evidence from *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* (1795) and information on the tree line, taken from the Land Use Information Map, Canada,(Department of the Environment, 1979). Fuller believes that Clowey Lake probably is McArthur Lake. Readers interested in the details about Hearne's route are advised to consult W.A. Fuller, "Samuel Hearne's Track: Some Obscurities Clarified," *Arctic* 52.3 (1999): 257-71 and Sean Peake, "Hot on a Cold Trail: Rewriting Samuel Hearne's Track," Unpublished Ms. The paper is available from S. Peake, 158 Fairlawn Ave., Toronto ON, M5M 1S8.

[29] Hearne (1958), 62, 63. Historian Sean Peake believes that Hearne's Clowey is Doran Lake. This information comes from a conversation with Sean Peake and he has documented it in a working paper, that he generously shared with me, titled "Hot on a Cold Trail- Rewriting Samuel Hearne's Track."

By 21 June 1771 they had travelled far enough to the north that the sun no longer set. The next day the expedition encountered a camp of Copper Indians who loaned them canoes (for the Chipewyan had brought only three from Clowey) to speed the crossing of this large party over the Conge-ca-tha-wha-chaga River.[33] Matonabbee and Hearne spent the evening talking with the principal men among the Copper Indians, whom Matonabbee knew from previous encounters. The Copper Indians reported to Hearne that the mouth of the Coppermine River was always frozen.[34] If so, then it was unlikely that a navigable Northwest Passage existed, which would end the HBC's hope of sailing the copper ore directly to England. But their description was not sufficient to deter Hearne.

During the next week the entire expedition party, which now included some of the Copper Indians, stayed at this campsite to hunt deer. Matonabbee resolved to leave his two wives here with the Copper Indians, and an unspecified number of the Chipewyan they had met at Clowey also decided to remain.[35] Heneeforth, each day a few more Chipewyan turned back, many citing the unusually harsh weather as the deciding deterrent. In the published narrative Hearne notes that several, then three, and finally another fifteen Chipeywan deserted the expedition.[36]

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[30] Hearne (1958), 72-73. Matonabbee believed that young children would slow the expedition's pace and this is why he chose only those of his wives without children to accompany the party on the next leg of the trip.

[31] Hearne (1958), 74.

[32] Hearne (1958), 76.

[33] Hearne (1958), 76. According to Sean Peake, a similar terminology to Hearne's remains in use (Kaththawachaga River). Fuller identifies Hearne's Conge-ca-tha-wha-chaga River as the Burnside River. See Fuller, 264.

[34] Hearne (1958), 78.

Approximately one week later, on 13 July 1771, the expedition party reached the Coppermine River. This was the river that was supposed to run past the northern copper mines before emptying into a northern ocean. Hearne claimed to be dismayed at the sight of this river, for it was too shallow and narrow for any boat larger than a canoe to navigate safely.[37] The party travelled northward alongside the river toward the copper mines for three more days. Then, three expedition members, who had been sent to scout ahead, returned with the news that an Inuit camp was just ahead. According to Hearne, at that moment, all thoughts turned toward attacking the Inuit. Even Matonabbee, whom Moses Norton had charged with leading Hearne to the mines, prepared to attack.[38]

The Chipewyan and Copper Indians attacked the Inuit while the latter slept, managing to kill most of the inhabitants before they could waken and retaliate. Hearne watched the attack from a distance, where Matonabbee believed he would be safe from any Inuit who managed to escape. Seven tents of Inuit remained unharmed as they were situated on the opposite side of the river and the attackers had no means to cross. However, the expedition party resolved to head southward to where they had left their few canoes, cross the river there, and proceed to attack the second camp. This they did, but many of the Inuit, who had been forewarned by the noise from the first attack, succeeded in canoeing to safety on a shoal in the middle of the river. Instead, the Chipeywan and Copper Indian attackers destroyed the camp, and stole anything of value. Once the expedition members had finished with these violent acts, they told Hearne they were ready to resume the trek to the copper mines.[39]

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[35] Hearne suggests that the number of Copper Indians who joined the expedition easily replaced the Chipewyan who elected to remain by the Conge-ca-tha-wha-chaga River. Hearne (1958), 84.

[36] Hearne (1958), 84, 85, 86. See the entries for 2, 4, and 6 July 1771.

[37] Hearne (1958), 94-95.

[38] Hearne (1958), 96-97.

Before Matonabbee took Hearne to the mines, Hearne wished to survey the mouth of the river and pinpoint its exact location. Hearne found that the river's mouth was similarly unnavigable. Furthermore, the northern ocean was filled with ice as far as he could see, but his view of the open ocean was blocked by islands located a mile or two in the distance. Foggy weather rendered Hearne's navigational equipment useless, as his ability to make observations required taking an accurate position of the sun. After consulting with the expedition party (perhaps for their permission) Hearne erected a mark indicating that the Hudson's Bay Company had taken possession of this place. The party then walked back to a place to the south of the site of the attack, where they slept for the first time in three days.[40]

Shortly thereafter, Matonabbee led Hearne to one of the mines. It had taken the expedition approximately seven months to reach their ultimate destination. After half a century of searching, Hearne had succeeded in answering the HBC's quest to validate the location of these rumoured mines using celestial navigation. But he also had the unpleasant task of recording the low quantity of surface ore, as he recorded in the published narrative: "I and almost all my companions expended near four hours in search of some of this metal, with such poor success, that among us all, only one piece of any size could be found."[41] Hearne now had all the information he needed to report on the infeasibility of a profitable mining operation.

Having completed the purpose of the journey, the expedition party began to make their way toward Churchill. Hearne noted that the Chipewyan were anxious to reunite with their families. They travelled at a hard pace, stopping only for "a little refreshment." When they arrived at the pre-arranged meeting place, the former campsite of the Copper Indians, no one was there, but smoke from another camp could be seen in the distance. For the next few days, the party "redoubled our pace" in anticipation of catching up with the women and children.[42] During this time Hearne began to show signs of exhaustion. He described his weakened condition in the published account:

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[39] Hearne (1958), 98-104.

[40] Hearne (1958), 105-106.

[41] Hearne (1958), 112.

> From our leaving the Copper-mine River to this time we had travelled so hard, and taken so little rest by the way, that my feet and legs had swelled considerably, and I had become quite stiff at the ankles. In this situation I had so little power to direct my feet when walking, that I frequently knocked them against the stones with such force, as not only to jar and disorder them, but my legs also; and the nails of my toes were bruised to such a degree, that several of them festered and dropped off.[43]

By early August, Matonabbee and the other Chipeywan members of the expedition had rejoined their families. A short while later many of the Chipewyan who had joined them to attack the Inuit left to go their own way.[44]

Throughout the fall and into the winter Hearne travelled south with Matonabbee and about twelve tents of Chipeywan. In October a windstorm blew over his tent and the poles broke his quadrant, even though it was in a protective case. Hearne could no longer measure latitude. By 9 January 1772, the expedition had reached the south shore of Great Slave Lake. Around this time Hearne's watch stopped, which meant he was unable to estimate with any accuracy the distance he travelled from this point onward.[45] Two days later they encountered a lone Dogrib woman. Captured by the Athapuscow [Athabasca] Cree in 1770, she had escaped seven months earlier. As they had come from her homeland to this spot by canoe, and as she usually travelled by foot, she had found their route confusing and did not know the way back home. She had resolved to winter here and then try to reach home in the summer. Impressed by her story, a number of Chipewyan men, including Matonabbee, wanted to take her for a wife. Matonabbee's youngest wife, who Hearne alleged was only eleven or twelve years old, managed to dissuade him. Matonabbee reacted to his public shaming by beating her. Hearne reported that the girl later died from her injuries.[46] Aside from these events, the party spent their time taking advantage of the plentiful game and enjoying the slower pace. Matonabbee told Hearne he planned to reach Churchill in late summer.[47]

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[42] Hearne (1958), 118-120.

[43] Hearne (1958) 120.

[44] Hearne (1958), 121, 126. The other Chipewyan left on 9 August 1771.

[45] Hearne (1958), 134, 160, 180. Hearne referred to this body of water variously as Lake Athapuscow or Lake Arathapescow. Richard Glover identifies it as Great Slave Lake. See Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xvii.

By April they had passed Clowey Lake. They had also seen swans migrating, a sure sign of spring's arrival.[48] In May they had begun to encounter other Chipewyan who were heading to Churchill to trade their furs. Once again the expedition party grew in size. Hearne remarked in his published narrative that trading captains, such as Matonabbee, purposely gathered in large groups before arriving at the fort to trade. Matonabbee believed that he would impress the chief factor by appearing to be the chief negotiator for such a large group of fur-bearing traders.[49] About this time it was jointly decided to leave the elderly and young children behind with a few capable adults and then rendezvous with them at Cathawachaga, on the barren grounds, after finishing business at Churchill. That done, the travelling pace increased.[50]

Though the end of Hearne's journey was near, it was not an easy road. For two weeks in May the expedition party endured starvation. Indeed, many of the trading Chipewyan turned back and others, still moving toward Churchill, dropped their bundles of furs behind them in hopes that a lighter load would ensure their survival.[51] On the ninth of June they met Chipewyan who were heading to the Hudson Bay coast in hopes of meeting with the annual trading sloop. They reached the Seal River on the 26th of June. Three days later they spent the night on one of the islands where Hearne had supervised the goose-hunt in the spring of 1769. Finally, the next morning (30 June, 1772), Matonabbee and Hearne arrived at Churchill, after an absence of eighteen months and twenty-four days.[52] Hearne remarked on the significance of the journey in the published account:

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[46] Hearne (1958), 168-69, 170-71.

[47] Hearne (1958), 174.

[48] Hearne (1958), 183.

[49] Hearne (1958), 186.

[50] Hearne (1958), 187-88.

> Though my discoveries are not likely to prove of any material advantage to the Nation at large, or indeed to the Hudson's Bay Company, yet I have the pleasure to think that I have fully complied with the orders of my Masters, and that it has put a final end to all disputes concerning a North West Passage through Hudson's Bay.[53]

This rendition of Hearne's three attempts to reach the northern copper mines represents a summary of the main events as published in the 1795 narrative.

As Hearne described it, his first two guides, Chawchinahaw and Conne-e-quese, were unreliable and incompetent. Neither one of them had seemed willing to travel any great distance inland from the coast. Both of them had introduced a series of stalling tactics designed to encourage Hearne to abandon the search. But there may have been good reason why these two guides did not fulfill their mandate, other than the implied defects in their personality . Records from Churchill post indicate that both guides resided among the eastern Chipeywan. If so, it is unlikely either one of them had ever been to Lake Athabasca, where they most probably would have found Matonabbee, let alone had travelled to the northern copper mines.

The hypothesis that Chachinahaw belonged to the eastern Chipewyan derives from the short intervals between his frequent visits to Churchill and his documented connections with the bayside Inuit. During this short-lived first attempt, Chachinahaw had travelled south to meet his relations, suggesting that he belonged to the eastern group. Furthermore, admissions to Hearne from the other Chipewyan in the expedition that none of them were familiar with the route to the mines also supports this theory that they were not from the northwestern group. There are no written indications of why Chachinahaw agreed to lead the expedition given his experiential limitations, although the lure of company provisions, ammunition, utensils, and prestige may have been great enough to tempt him. He may have also hoped to run into Matonabbee, and thus avoid travelling into unfamiliar territory, if the latter decided to make a trip to Churchill, as in fact happened on the second attempt.

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[51] Hearne (1958), 189.

[52] Hearne (1958), 192, 194, 195.

[53] Hearne (1958), 195.

In the published narrative Hearne portrays Norton's selection of Conne-e-quese as logical, but according to HBC documents Norton appears to have selected him out of desperation. Hearne suggests that Conne-e-quese "had been very near to the famous river" that ran next to the northern copper mines.[54] Hearne refers to Conne-e-quese as a leader in the published 1795 narrative, but in the Churchill post journal the only Chipewyan leader mentioned arriving around the time of Hearne's departure is one of the eastern trading captains, and former guide, Chachinahaw.[55] Norton seems to have settled on Conne-e-quese at the last moment, for he had earlier (16 January 1770) sent two Chipewyan men "away a Cross the Barren ground about 150 miles for Indians...with Orders for them the Come to the Fort as fast as Possible. Which Indians I intend to send with Mr Hearne..."[56] But when they did not return, Norton, who was anxious for the expedition to leave while winter lasted, must have turned to whomever was available. Since Conne-e-quese had claimed to have been to the river, he was the most likely candidate.

It appears that Conne-ne-quese's efforts to stall, and his predilection to direct the group back and forth along the Seal River was in part due to his wish to avoid proceeding beyond known territory.[57] The instructions for the second journey stated that the expedition was to head directly to the mines rather than searching for Matonabbee. To do so, Norton had to have believed that Conne-e-quese knew the way, yet the guide's behaviour on the expedition indicates otherwise. The reason for Conne-e-quese's ignorance is clear; he belonged to the Chipewyan who followed the caribou herd that ranged just north of Churchill between the Hudson Bay coast and a few days' trek inland. All references to Chipewyan coming to Churchill at the time just preceding the departure of the second expedition describe them as residing due north, not west, of Churchill, an area in which the eastern Chipeywan typically resided.[58] Then, during the second expedition, while camped on a lake near the Seal River, awaiting the arrival of the geese, the expedition party met the families of Churchill's Chipewyan goose hunters.[59] The goose hunters themselves would have been at Churchill by this time in order to help with the hunt. The same goose hunters came every spring and fall, which indicates that these people were the eastern Chipewyan. The northern Chipewyan travelled to Churchill only once every several years, and they did not regularly participate in the goose hunts. The theory that Conne-e-quese belonged to the eastern Chipewyan explains his reluctance to move much north of Seal River.

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[54] Hearne (1958), 9.

[55] HBCA B.42/a/77 fo 7, Churchill Post Journal, 1 November 1769.

[56] HBCA B.42/a/77 fo 13, Churchill Post Journal, 16 January 1770.

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[57] As was the case for Chachinahaw's behaviour, scholars have misinterpreted or missed altogether the reason for Conne-e-quese's actions. Mackinnon agrees he got lost but fails to distinguish between the two groups of Chipewyan ("Hearne, Samuel"339), and Tyrrell implies that away from the fort he lost enthusiasm for the enterprise; see "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1911), 14. Bryce attributes the reason for Hearne's return solely to the broken quadrant; see George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudsons' Bay Company* (1900), 102.

[58] HBCA B.42/a/77 fos 7, 8, 8d, Churchill Post Journal, 1, 7, 10, 12, and 15 November 1769. The entries for 1, 10, and 12 November contain references to the arrival of Chipewyan, many of whom were in poor health due to hunger, as was Conne-e-quese according to Hearne. The other entries mention detaining some of these sick men to hunt at the post.

[59] Hearne (1958), 17.

Thus, it appears that a more plausible explanation for the behaviour of Hearne's first two guides lies in the HBC's ignorance of the difference in location between the usual ranges travelled by the eastern and western Chipewyan. It is highly probable that both of them had heard about the mines and knew enough about them to be able to describe their general location. Norton assumed that Chachinahaw's and Conne-e-quese's ability to talk about the mines meant that they had visited the place themselves. But, given that both men seemed to reside close to the Hudson Bay coast, it is highly unlikely that they had ever made the trip into the homeland of the more western Chipeywan, which contained the northern copper mines.

One of the highlights of Hearne's third journey was his arrival at that "long-wished for spot, the Copper-mine River."[60] There is reason to challenge how this moment is depicted in the published narrative. Here, Hearne records his first impression of the Coppermine River as one of shock and dismay:

> On my arrival here I was not a little surprised to find the river differ so much from the description which the Indians had given of it at the Factory; for, instead of being so large as to be navigable for shipping, as it had been represented by them, it was at that part scarcely navigable for an Indian canoe, being no more than one hundred and eighty yards wide, every where full of shoals, and no less than three falls were in sight at first view.[61]

According to a letter written by Hearne, on 27 May 1770 the second expedition encountered a group of Chipewyan on route to meet the *Churchill* sloop along the western coast of Hudson Bay during its annual trading voyage.[62] Around the same time they also met Captain Keelshies, a well known Chipewyan trading captain who had last been to Churchill in the winter of 1765.[63] He was heading with his family for Churchill Post; it was by him that Hearne sent a letter dated 6 July 1770.

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[60] Hearne (1958), 93.

[61] Hearne (1958), 94-95.

[62] These people's destination is more evidence that the expedition had yet to go beyond the eastern group's usual range. See HBCA B.42/b/17 fo 6d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Norton, 6 July 1770. Incidently, Chachinahaw also met the *Churchill* that summer, staying on board two nights to trade. See B.42/a/78 fo 37, Churchill Sloop Journal, 27 July 1770. Back on shore he then fired his gun to inform the HBC traders that more Chipewyan were newly arrived. Perhaps these people were the ones Hearne met at Seal River. See B.42/a/78 fo 38, Churchill Sloop Journal 31 July 1770.

Within this letter Hearne put down information he, or his editors, would later omit from the 1795 Coppermine narrative. According to Hearne, Keelshies claimed:

> that he was at the Coppermine River last summer and gives a very Differant account of it then others has done before, ~~and~~ and so far from being like what has been represented by E,dot, le, easey and Me, te, Napie, that he says it is of no breadth and Confused with Islands and Stones, however he will give you a Larger account therof while at the forte...[64]

Keelshies' account mirrors that given much earlier to James Knight by other northwestern Chipewyan in which they claimed that the water was "not higher then their Anckles" and was full of islands near the river's mouth.[65] The HBC had dismissed their depiction too, preferring to hope that ships could carry the mineral ore from the river out through the Northwest Passage and on to England.

By ignoring this letter, whether by design or accident, Hearne could then feign surprise not only at the state of the river but also at the condition of the mines. At least this is the state of mind he chose to portray in the 1795 published narrative account of his journeys:

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[63] In the Coppermine River narrative there is no mention of a meeting with the first group that was heading for the coast. This version of Hearne's story also suggests that Keelshies left with Hearne's letter on 30 June, even though the only letter to reach the fort through Keelshies was dated 6 July. See Hearne (1958), 23. Hearne met Keelshies again on the third attempt (29 May 1771), near Lake Athabaska. See Hearne (1958), 70. Keelshies' presence this far to the northwest and his infrequent trips to Churchill, even though he carried the title of trading captain, suggest that he was one of the more western Chipewyan. If so, it is probable that his description of the copper mines was based on experience. The last time Keelshies is mentioned by name in any of the Churchill documents occurs in B.42/b/11 fo 5, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Moses Norton to Ferdinand Jacobs, York, 7 January 1765.

[64] B.42/b/17 fo 6d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Norton, 6 July 1770. The letter also contains Keelshies' offer to lead Hearne to the copper mines upon the former's return from Churchill.

[65] HBCA B.239/a/2 fo 30, York Factory Post Journal, 10 May 1716. The Chipewyan explained that the river emptied into the Western Sea in another discussion; B.239/a/2 fo 32, York Factory Post Journal, 12 May 1716.

> This mine, if it deserve that appellation, is no more than an entire jumble of rocks and gravel...The Indians who were the occasion of my undertaking this journey, represented this mine to be so rich and valuable, that if a factory were built at the river, a ship might be ballasted with the ore instead of stone...By their account the hills were entirely composed of that metal, all in handy lumps, like a heap of pebbles. But their account differed so much from the truth, that I and almost all my companions expended near four hours in search of some of this metal, with such poor success, that among us all, only one piece of any size could be found.[66]

One may question why Hearne chose to proceed in light of Keelshies' revelation. But at this point Keelshies claim did not resolve the mystery of the mines' location; rather Hearne now had to choose between two sources - Keelshies and Matonabbee. Matonabbee's story probably carried more credibility with the HBC because of the his solid reputation at the fort. More importantly, Matonabbee's story was the one Norton wanted to believe. This desire may explain why Norton neglected to mention Keelshies' warnings in subsequent letters to the London Committee or to other chief factors.[67] Hearne himself seems to have put the matter aside as well, most likely because he was more interested in continuing with the inland travels than resuming his role on the whaling ships. For, despite Keelshies' words, both Norton and Hearne persevered with the search.

Aside from the moments when Hearne fulfilled the main components of his quest, probably the best known part of Hearne's journal concerns the attack of the Chipewyan and Copper Indians upon the Inuit. In *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, Hearne is horrified at the actions of his travelling companions because of their apparent lack of motive: unpredictability and savagery are firmly entwined. It is precisely this emotive association that has helped etch this event into readers' minds. It has been a continuous source of inspiration for poetry and the subject of continued scholarly debate.[68] Ian MacLaren concurs: "[t]hat English-Canadian literary studies are transfixed by the massacre is evident from the frequency with which the fourth-stage [published] text appears among excerpts of travel literature in anthologies, and from the treatment that it has received in subsequent works of Canadian literature, history and criticism."[69] Elsewhere he writes that this scene "has become the cornerstone of Canadian literary anthologies' excerpts of the literature of exploration and travel...it is for readers of

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[66] Hearne (1958), 112. Standard renditions of Hearne's tale adopt the feeling of surprise. For example, E.E. Rich writes: "That 'Long-wished for spot', however, proved a sore disappointment...immediately it became apparent that the tales of a great river up which sea-going ships could sail, to bring the copper out as ballast, were nonsense." See Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company*, vol. 2, 54. Similarly, Mackinnon comments that it was when Hearne reached the river in the summer of 1772 that "[he] quickly saw that shoals and falls made the river useless for navigation." See "Hearne, Samuel" 340."

[67] For example, in a letter to Jacobs, Norton writes: "We have heard from M^r Hearn by y^e above Northern Indians that he was well in Health the 6th of July..." See B.42/b/16 fo 16, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter to Ferdinand Jacobs at York, 28 August 1770. Norton writes a similar passage in a letter to Humphrey Marten at Albany; see HBCA B.42/b/18 fo 2d, 7 November 1770.

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[68] For example, Bryce suggests that the attack on the Inuit was motivated by the desire "to conquer them." He colours his retelling of the event with words such as "cruel" and "disgust." See Bryce, 104. Next, E.E. Rich describes it as follows: "The disappointment at the river was followed by utter disgust and nausea at the brutal and degrading massacre..." See Rich (1960), 54-55. Dermot McCarthy characterizes it as "Hearne's climactic confrontation with the incomprehensible malignancy at their [the Chipewyan's] heart." He also employed phrases such as "the demonic intelligence of the Indians" and "these inhuman humans" to convey the twinning of savagery and irrationality. See " 'Not Knowing me from an Enemy': Hearne's Account of the Massacre at Bloody Falls," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 16 (1979), 153, 155-56. Ian Stone then describes the event as "the tragic massacre"; see "Profile: Samuel Hearne," 51. M.J. Brand employs words like "shock" and "horrified" to recapture the feeling of the event; see "Samuel Hearne and the massacre at Bloody Falls," 230. Poet Don Gutteridge utilizes phrases like "slaughter of the innocents" and words such as "chaos" "guilt" and "laughter" to create a sense of horror at the senselessness of motive. See Gutteridge, *The Quest for North: Coppermine* (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1973), page numbers not assigned. As well, MacLaren describes Gutteridge and others, such as Peter C. Newman, John Newlove, and Stephen Hume in "Exploring Canadian Literature: Samuel Hearne and the Inuit Girl," 95-106.

[69] I.S. MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," 57-58.

Canadian literature today *the* story of the north."[70] Evidence from the HBC's records permits the construction of a plausible rationale for the Chipewyan attack which challenges the popular and firmly entrenched portrayal of the massacre.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Chipewyan and Inuit had been alternatively at peace and war with each other in a situation much like the tense and uncertain status between the Chipewyan and Cree. When Matonabbee met the Inuit along the Coppermine River in the late 1760s it had been a peaceful encounter.[71] Then, in the summer of 1771, for reasons hidden from or not understood by Hearne, Matonabbee and other Dene, seemingly unprovoked, killed most of the inhabitants of an Inuit encampment near the mouth of the river: an event now known as the massacre at Bloody Falls.

The explanation for their behaviour derives from an understanding of Chipewyan spiritual beliefs and political positioning. Before Hearne had departed on the first trek, Captain John Fowler had temporarily taken on the role of Churchill's chief factor during Norton's absence in London. Perhaps because Fowler is not a primary figure in the story of Hearne, Matonabbee, or the copper mines, scholars have tended to overlook his journal and letters.[72] But within these documents lies a clue to why the Chipewyan attacked the Inuit. On the 17 January 1769, Fowler sent word to Ferdinand Jacobs, now chief factor at the more southerly York Factory, concerning a great mortality among the Chipewyan, with approximately thirty key traders and hunters already dead. Though Fowler did not mention the name, among the dead was Idotlyazee,[73] which suggests that this particular outbreak had affected the more westerly group of Chipewyan.

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[70] MacLaren, "Exploring Canadian Literature," 91. MacLaren makes a similar comment in "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey* from a Bibliographic Perspective," 22.

[71] In the published narrative Hearne recalls Matonabbee's autobiographical tale: "I have heard him say, that when he first visited the river, in company with I-dot-le-aza, they met with several Esquimaux; and so far from killing them, were very friendly to them." Hearne (1958), footnote, 224.

[72] James Smith and Ernest Burch are the only scholars to have taken note of Fowler's comments; however, they do not draw a connection between the Chipewyan threats and the later attack upon the Inuit. See "Chipewyan and Inuit in the Central Subarctic, 1613-1977," 82.

Then, in March 1769, Fowler made the following journal entry: "one Northern Indian came in all most Starved and told me thar wass two more a Coming, thay Brought the disagreable News that the Northern Indians thay left is a going to Kill the Usquemays [Inuit], the reason they give for it thay have had Many of the Northern Indians died, and they think the Usquemays have Cungered [conjured] them to dith [death]." In April he sent another note to Jacobs reporting that they also threatened to stab a Chipewyan named Bearded Man "because he would not go With them" to kill the Inuit.[74] In Fowler's words lie possible motives for the Dene attack on the Copper Inuit, and Matonabbee's apparent complacency in allowing his Dene companions to sidetrack the expedition. First, the attack.

According to HBC records, the Chipewyan appear to have believed in the ability to cause death from a distance, often in the form of a curse, which sometimes manifested itself in illness. In 1778 Matonabbee asked Hearne to lay a death curse on another man (of unmentioned ethnicity) who was then "several hundreds of miles distant." The following year Matonabbee returned to Churchill with the news that the man had died only a few days after learning of the curse. Hearne speculated about the power of curses and those able to lay them successfully:

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[73] HBCA B.42/b/16 fo 8d, Churchill Correspondence Book, Moses Norton to Ferdinand Jacobs, 23 September 1769; see also B.42/a/74 fo 13, Churchill Post Journal, 10 November 1768; A.11/14 fo 100d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, General Letter from Moses Norton to the London Committee, 2 September 1769; A.11/14 fo 116, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Moses Norton to the London Committee, 2 September 1769; A.6/11 fo 95d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Moses Norton and Council, 17 May 1770. It was in fact Chachinahaw, a spiritual leader, who prepared Idotlyazee for death; see B.42/a/74 fo 13, 10 November 1768.

[74] HBCA B.42/b/15 fos 3, 4d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letters from John Fowler to Ferdinand Jacobs, 17 January and 12 April 1769; B.42/a/74 fo 29d, Churchill Post Journal, 8 March 1768.

> When these jugglers take a dislike to, and threaten a secret revenge on any person, it often proves fatal to that person; as, from a firm belief that the conjurer has power over his life, he permits the very thoughts of it to prey on his spirits, till by degrees it brings on a disorder which puts an end to his existence: and sometimes a threat of this kind causes the death of a whole family[.][75]

When such deaths befell the Chipewyan, they sometimes reacted by attacking those whom they believed responsible for originating the curse, particularly if the originators were outsiders such as the Inuit or Cree. Charles Swaine, clerk aboard one of Arthur Dobbs' ships sent to winter in Hudson Bay in 1746, provided a similar explanation for attacks by the Chipewyan upon the Inuit along the bay:

> The *Indians* [Chipewyan] are inclineable to go to war; if there is a bad Season of hunting, or if any of their People is missing, or that they have a Sickness amongst them, they must prepare in Spring to go out and seek out the *Eskemaux* [Inuit], and make a Carnage of them; for they attribute to them the Cause of their Misfortunes. It is the *Eskemaux* that have killed their Friend; it the *Eskemaux* have kept the Dear [caribou] away; and the Sickness is occasion'd by a Charm or Witchery of the *Eskemaux*.[76]

A similar patttern had unfolded in 1756. John Bean of the *Churchill* sloop reported on the killings of forty coastal Inuit by local Chipewyan in retaliation for the unexplained deaths of two of their own.[77] Given the power of curses of misfortune and death in the minds of the Chipewyan, their desire to enact revenge upon the Inuit, the perceived originators of the 1769 curse, may have been longstanding.

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[75] Hearne (1958), 143, and footnote same page. Hearne believed that it was advantageous for men in positions of power to have a reputation of possessing "something a little supernatural." Chachinahaw may have risen in power among the coastal Chipewyan for this precise reason: he was a known conjurer.

[76] Charles Swaine as cited in Clerk of the *California* [T.S. Drage], *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a Northwest Passage*, vol. 2 (London, 1748), 43-44; as cited in James Smith, "Chipewyan, Cree and Inuit Relations," 144.

[77] Hearne (1958), 217, footnote. Hearne says Bean heard gun shots as the sloop left Knapps Bay in 1756, but he only learned the significance of the sounds the following season. In fact he is mistaken in his dates by a year: rumours of the attack reach Churchill in the 1755-56 season and Bean's report appears in his journal for the summer of 1756. Bean's report makes no mention of the Chipewyan deaths, only that the Chipewyan wanted to eliminate the Inuit as rival traders with the sloop: neither does Ferdinand Jacobs journal entry on the killings dated 18 November 1755. See B.42/a/46 fos 11-11d,

There are a number of reasons to suppose that there is a connection. After Fowler mentioned the plan there is no report of a Chipewyan attack until Hearne brought back word with his return in the summer of 1772. It is clear that the attack was intended upon the Copper Inuit because the Chipewyan affected by the disease belonged to the more northwestern group: their only contact with Inuit occurred in the far north, not along Hudson Bay. Lastly, given the time it would take to reach the mines and the Chipewyan's pattern of travelling, the July 1771 attack is within reasonable time limits to be connected to the 1769 plan. It is well established that it would take a minimum of between six and twelve months to travel from Churchill to the mines. Matonabbee led Hearne there in half a year but they did not pause long to take advantage of local resources, as had occurred during the trip led by Conne-e-quese. Their return trip encompassed nearly one year. Chipewyan travelling at a less hurried pace could take as long as two or three years to make the round trip.[78] The Chipewyan who had expressed in March and April their wish to kill the Inuit may have taken the time to spend a summer hunting caribou and fishing, and drumming up support for the attack while at the popular summer gathering places. It is also known that winter was the favoured time for long distance travel by the Chipewyan. The ones with whom Fowler spoke may not have ventured far from Churchill until the waters froze during the fall or winter of 1769-70. They would have returned to their homeland that winter, staying along the treeline to take advantage of deer, moose and caribou, then travelled onto the barrens to be among the caribou during the summer of 1770. It is plausible that they wanted a large group of men to come with them in search of the Inuit, and the negotiations could have taken a while. Once they had agreed upon the terms, knowing that the Inuit visited the copper mines only in the summer, they may have had to wait until the following summer for revenge. Thus, when Matonabbee's expedition

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Churchill Post Journal; B.42/a/47 fos 2-2d, Churchill Sloop Journal 1756.

[78] HBCA B.42/a/67 fo 63, Churchill Post Journal, 11 August 1767.

group met other Chipewyan in the late spring and early summer of 1771, and once these others learned of the expedition's destination, it may have been a convenient opportunity for those in search of revenge to move forward with their plan.

It is impossible to prove absolutely that the expression of revenge uttered to Fowler in the spring of 1769 is directly connected to the Chipewyan attack in the summer of 1771. In none of Hearne's letters, journal notes, draft narratives or the 1795 published account does Hearne indicate that the Chipewyan (who were joined by Copper Indians) attacked the Inuit out of revenge. In fact, the lack of motive is part of what fuels Hearne's horror during the event; at least this is how it is portrayed in *A Journey*. Nonetheless, Hearne's ignorance does not preclude the existence of motive.

The second aspect of the attack that long befuddled Hearne was Matonabbee's apparent inability to dissuade the group from pursuing their murderous plan. Here the nuances of Chipewyan politics and the evolving role of the trading captain come into play. In the eyes of Samuel Hearne and Chief Factor Moses Norton, Matonabbee was a powerful and respected man both at the fort and among his people, as well as other peoples of the north. One of the reasons Norton wanted Matonabbee to lead the expedition was Norton's belief that he possessed "much Influence with the different Tribe of Natives in those parts" and had cultivated friendships with the Dogrib, Stongbow Cree, Athabasca Cree, and Copper Indians.[79] It was he who had negotiated peace between a group of inland Cree and the northwestern Chipewyan. It was he who brought in other Chipewyan to trade, as well as a considerable amount of furs and meat. It was also he who had travelled to the copper mines and back, and had enabled Norton to present to his London-based superiors the first reasonable plan to reach the mines that the committee had seen in years. What the HBC men failed to comprehend was how Matonabbee's reputation changed as he travelled farther and farther away from the fort.

At the time, HBC men primarily saw Native trading captains in action while at one of the company's posts. Upon arrival, the trading captain typically wore a British hat and coat. If he arrived by canoe, the boat flew a British flag. He smoked the calumet, a ceremonial pipe, with the post's chief factor and then negotiated trading standards on behalf of his group of traders. He received presents from the company, and in turn distributed them among his people. The trading captain was the conduit through which flowed the majority of social and business affairs between his people and the HBC.[80]

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[79] HBCA B.42/a/80 fos 23d-24, Churchill Post Journal, 7 December 1770. Who Norton meant by the Strongbow Cree is unclear. These people resided west of Churchill and along the travel routs of the western Chipewyan.

Away from the post, the trading captain's position was stripped of splendour and was far more precarious. Obviously the success of these middlemen rested upon their ability to negotiate with the HBC and also their own people, as well as with neighbouring groups. But their position of power was not as the HBC imagined. As Hearne himself wrote:

> Indeed, the generality of Europeans who reside in those parts, being utterly unacquainted with the manners and customs of the Indians, have conceived so high an opinion of those Leaders, and their authority, as to imagine that all who accompany them on those occasions are entirely devoted to their service and command all the year; but this is so far from being the case, that the authority of those great men, when absent from the Company's Factory, never extends beyond their own family; and the trifling respect which is shown them by their countrymen during their residence at the Factory, proceeds only from motives of interest.[81]

Furthermore, the trading captain's life carried with it the increased chance of starvation. By travelling the long distance to Churchill, the captain and his family compromised their ability to take advantage of the limited seasonal opportunities to fish, and to hunt caribou and geese. After serving nearly twenty years in Rupert's Land, Hearne reflected on the hardships encountered by Chipewyan trading families:

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[80] One of the most memorable descriptions of the trading captain's role is contained in Andrew Graham's *Observations on Hudson's Bay*, ed. Glyndwr Williams, (1969), 315-24; trading ceremony passage cited from HBCA E.2/12 pp 438-443. This passage has also been transcribed into Edward Umfreville's *Present State of Hudson's Bay* (London, 1790), 28-30.

[81] Hearne (1958), 186.

> they frequently run great risques of being starved to death in their way thither and back; and all that they can possibly get there for the furrs they procure after a year's toil, seldom amounts to more than is sufficient to yield a bare subsistence...Indeed, those who take no concern at all about procuring furrs, have generally an opportunity of providing themselves with all their real wants...As their whole aim is to procure a comfortable subsistence, they take the most prudent methods to accomplish it; and by always following the lead of the deer [caribou], are seldom exposed to the griping hand of famine, so frequently felt by those who are called the annual traders. It is true, that there are few of the Indians, whose manner of life I have just described, but have once in their lives visited Prince of Wales's Fort [Churchill]; and the hardships and dangers which most of them experienced on those occasions, have left such a lasting impression on their minds that nothing can induce them to repeat their visits.[82]

These difficulties explain why traders from such distant regions made the journey only once every few years.

On the trek to the mines Hearne soon witnessed the limitations of Matonabbee's position. Between January and April 1771, the expedition group increased to approximately seventy persons, most of whom were family and close friends of Matonabbee.[83] Hearne noted that Matonabbee was exceedingly generous toward them, bestowing large gifts of shot and powder upon them. He also gave away similar gifts and tobacco to all others they met on the trip to the mines, thus establishing a spirit of good intentions, reciprocity, and mutual obligations. It is probable he hoped that these same people, outside his immediate kin, would return his generosity by agreeing to let him trade their furs at Churchill.[84] Nevertheless, Matonabbee also faced numerous compromising situations in which he had to act carefully in order to preserve others' respect for him.

When the expedition arrived at Clowey Lake, they were soon joined by another 200 Chipewyan. According to Hearne, these people were not related to Matonabbee, nor were they close associates of any other kind. It was then that Hearne first heard of the plan to attack the Inuit. When the expedition left Clowey on the 20th of May, many of these "strangers" accompanied them.[85] With others in possession of a clearly different agenda now travelling in company with the original expedition members, it would have been increasingly difficult for Matonabbee to preserve his leadership, particularly in a culture where leadership was not authoritarian, but changed with the needs or situations facing the whole group.[86]

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[82] Hearne (1958), 52-53.

[83] Hearne (1958), 55.

[84] Hearne (1958), 64.

Nine days later, Matonabbee faced a challenge for one of his wives from a much stronger man, who had traded her to Matonabbee only a few months earlier. Matonabbee felt he had no choice but to prevent the wrestling match with gifts. Though he managed to appease the challenger, according to Hearne, Matonabbee "took this affront so much to heart...that he almost determined not to proceed any farther toward the Copper-mine River."[87] Now that he was in an area where red coats and top hats carried little currency, others sought to take advantage of whatever Matonabbee had. Indeed, during the return trip to Churchill, a Chipewyan man travelling in company seized unchallenged forty beaver skins he knew a visiting Dogrib man intended as a payment to Matonabbee.[88]

Matonabbee may well have known there was little he could do to prevent certain expedition members from seeking a violent end for any Inuit who happened to be near the mines. Hearne believed that Matonabbee maintained neutrality, or at least masked his own feelings about avenging the Chipewyan deaths and / or attacking the Inuit: "I must here observe, that when we went to war with the Esquimaux at the Copper River in July 1771, it was by no means his [Matonabbee's] proposal; on the contrary, he was forced into it by his countrymen."[89] Matonabbee's personal thoughts on the impending attack are unknown.

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[85] Hearne (1958), 64.

[86] Kerry Abel discusses the nature of leadership among the Dene in *Drum Songs*, 41-42.

[87] Hearne (1958), 71.

[88] Hearne (1958), 135. The skins were stolen from a man in a mixed group of Copper and Dogrib people. This incident occurred roughly near Great Slave Lake.

[89] Hearne (1958), 224, footnote.

But, as a middleman trader, it is unlikely he wanted to risk compromising the other Dene's respect for him, and thereby his ability to convince them to let him take their furs to Churchill on their behalf.

Thus far, a close reading of documentary evidence from the HBC Archives has provided keys to unlocking several of the persistent and pervasive mysteries associated with Hearne's three attempts to reach the northern copper mines. It has also provided insight into Hearne's motives for undertaking the trek. This type of evidence continues to aid in the understanding of the next puzzling aspect to Hearne's story: the fate of Hearne's original journals from the three attempts to reach the mines.

CHAPTER 3
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SAMUEL HEARNE'S THREE COPPERMINE RIVER JOURNALS AND THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S RECORD KEEPING POLICIES FOR CHURCHILL POST

What makes a study of the genesis of Hearne's narrative intriguing, yet frustrating, is the fact that all of Hearne's original journals pertaining to the attempts to reach the copper mines, the fair copies of those journals, and the draft manuscripts of the Coppermine River narrative have disappeared. The story of their fate is puzzling. The related clues are contradictory and there is little means of validating them. The following chapter outlines a reasonable explanation of when and why these documents disappeared, and why and for whom copies of them were made. This type of systematic record examination has not been done until now and thus this study makes a unique contribution not only to what we know about the genesis of the Coppermine River narrative, but also to our understanding of the evolution of the HBC's record-keeping policies. This effort is an attempt to address the observation that historians have tended to overlook the history and context of the very documents they use as evidence to construct their interpretations of the past. Without understanding the history to these primary sources, historians have introduced a potentially significant methodological flaw into their interpretations. Their assumptions about the nature of these sources as true and direct glimpses into the past, may or may not hold true. If the latter, then the very foundation upon which the historical interpretation rests, is likely to crumble. Bibliogaphic analysis of primary sources should be a mandatory element of the historian's practice. As this study demonstrates, in reconstructing the genesis of Hearne's narrative, much more is known about the narrative as a document: who wrote it, when and where it was written, how it was assembled, and why it was written.

The best indication of what may have happened to Hearne's journals of the three attempts to reach the Coppermine River, both originals and fair copies, derives from the HBC's policy for written accounts pertaining to business alongside Hudson Bay. The HBC learned from trying to operate its business on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean that an accurate and well-documented account of all transactions, instructions, and evaluations was necessary for the efficient and effective management of its business. The HBC's concern about record keeping, including the transportation and preservation of the records, evolved over time. From the beginning, the HBC exhibited a concern for the transmission of written records as a key method for monitoring company activities. In 1671, following the company's first season of operation, the governing body, known as the London Committee for the site of its meetings, directed its managerial agents, or chief factors, to keep records of business transactions. To aid the realization of this task the company sent writing clerks to the trading posts. The writing clerk's job was important enough that the HBC did not hesitate to reprimand or even remove clerks with poor handwriting.[1]

Records of transactions and activities in Hudson Bay assisted the London Committee in procuring the proper amount of supplies and trading goods for each post, and in evaluating employee performance. Eventually the company requested documentation of every post's financial accounts, correspondence, discoveries, suggestions, and daily activities. During the first twenty-five years of the company's existence, members of the London Committee took turns housing records in their homes.[2] Thus, while bayside chief factors and their clerks may have followed the directive to keep journals, not all such records survived; evidently they got lost during transportation or misplaced at company headquarters in London. For example, the London Committee noted in a letter dated 15 May 1682 that it had received paper packets containing two long letters from Governor Nixon in Hudson Bay, yet neither one of these letters survives in the company's archives.[3] In 1683 the London Committee charged chief factor Henry Sergeant "to sende us home every yeare exact Journalls of what hath been Done both at the place whence you shall reside your selfe and at all our other Factories." A matching set of instructions was sent to John Bridgar. Nor are these journals in the archives. Historian Glyndwr Williams notes that there are other similar references to the existence of post journals in 1684, 1687, and 1693, and again these journals are missing from the archives.[4] In 1695 the London Committee admitted that "all their bookes and papers which they kept att that time and for about the four first yeares of their Trade haveing been lost and carryed away by one of their Servants."[5] Not only did papers disappear in the process of company business in London, but also through being lent to outsiders. Bayside Governor Nixon's 1682 report to the London Committee survives solely in the papers of Robert Boyle, held by the Royal Society.[6] Similarly, Henry Kelsey's journal of his inland expedition (1690-92) ended up in the private papers of Arthur Dobbs, the vociferous and dogged critic of the HBC in the mid-eighteenth century.[7] These mishaps indicate the presence of ongoing difficulties surrounding the maintenance of complete records, in spite of the existence of directives aimed at preservation.

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[1] Deidre Simmons, "A History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives," *Papers of the 1994 Rupert's Land Colloquium*, eds. Ian MacLaren, Michael Payne, and Heather Rollason (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, The University of Winnipeg, 1997), 334, 335; based on HBCA A.1/1 fo 3d, London Minute Books, 7 November 1671. Simmons provides examples from the careers of two clerks on pp. 335-336.

[2] Joan Craig, "Three Hundred Years of Records," *The Beaver* 301 (Autumn, 1970), 66; Donald F. Warner, "The James F. Bell Collection," *The Beaver* 278 (December 1948), 38. Warner notes that the Bell Collection contains 17th-century records documenting the transfer of the original charter from home to home.

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[3] E.E. Rich, ed., *Letters Outward 1679-94*, Hudson Bay Record Society, vol. 11 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), 37.

[4] HBCA A.6/1 fo 30d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, instructions to Henry Sergeant, 27 April 1683; *Copy-booke of Letters Outward &c Begins 29th May, 1680 Ends 5 July, 1687*, eds. E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson, Hudson Bay Record Society, vol. 11 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), 73, 79, 88, 322, 232, and *Hudson's Bay Copy Booke of Letters Commissions Instructions Outward 1688-1696*, eds. E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson, HBRS vol. 20 (London: HBRS, 1957), 190; as cited in Glyndwr Williams, ed., "Introduction: Albany Post Journal 1705-06," *Hudson's Bay Miscellany* (Winnipeg: HBRS, 1975), 3.

[5] Craig, "Three Hundred Years of Records," 66.

[6] Craig, "Three Hundred Years of Records," 66.

[7] K.G. Davies, "Kelsey, Henry" *DCB*, vol. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 314.

Into the eighteenth century, the HBC worked to improve and regularize its collecting efforts. Those efforts were facilitated by the acquisition in 1696 of what had become a permanent office site on the north side of Fenchurch Street in London.[8] A stable location ensured that fewer records would be lost through constant transportation and it enabled the London Committee to broaden the scope of its record keeping without having to be concerned about where to store the growing number of papers or how to transport them to the next meeting. Shortly after this development, new types of records appear in the letter-dominated company holdings, such as the Albany Fort journal of 1705-06 which, according to Glyndwr Williams, is the first post journal to survive.[9]

By the mid-eighteenth century, the HBC came to view exploration of its territory and systematic record keeping as two necessary components of a plan to increase revenue and protect the business from competition. The HBC believed that secrecy about the information contained in its records was the most effective method of protecting the Company's various commercial activities from intrusion by outsiders. For example, it did not want the location of the copper mines or a Northwest Passage to be public knowledge until the HBC had assessed the commercial potential of these resources.[10]

One of the key elements of the company's records policy was the making of duplicates. These copies served as backups in the event the originals were lost or destroyed, as occurred at Churchill during August 1782 when the French naval commander La Pérouse ransacked the post. Thus, Churchill documents survive only in their duplicate form at company headquarters in London.[11] The earliest indication that the

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[8] The HBC stayed in this location until 1794 when it moved to the southwest end of the same street. See Craig, "Three Hundred Years of Records," 66, 67.

[9] Glyndwr Williams, ed., "Introduction: Albany Fort Journal 1705-06," *Hudson's Bay Miscellany*, (Winnipeg: HBRS, 1975), 3.

[10] Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting* (1991), 3-4.

[11] The exception would be correspondence between chief factors. Letters from and sent to Churchill also would have been recorded in other posts' correspondence books, although Churchill's own set of original correspondence certainly would have been

HBC wanted duplication of its records appears in a letter from the London Committee in 15 May 1682 requesting that John Bridgars keep them informed by "Sending Coppies of such Letters" pertaining to the operations of other posts.[12] However, in spite of the London Committee's efforts to ensure record preservation, these letters have not survived, as in the case of the early journals. It seems that during the next few decades the company took a haphazard approach to record preservation. In letters of instruction sent to chief factors well into the 1700s there are no further requests by the London Committee for duplicates. By the late 1710s the committee once again sent regular requests for copies of journals and letters.[13] In fact, they seemed to be attempting to organize and update their records, as indicated in a letter to Thomas Maclish: "You Acquaint us in Y^{e}: Letter that you have Winter'd at y^{e}: East Main Eleven Years and have Journals of Several Voyages to ye: Northw^{d}. w^{h}ich wee should be Glad to Receive, and for the future pray send us Coppies of all your Journals that wee may have the Perusal of them..."[14] This policy may have developed in response to the disappearance of all the company's seventeenth- and very early eighteenth-century journals.

The creation of duplicate records raises the question of what was done with the originals: a question of great relevance to the saga of Hearne's journals. Contrary to Joan Craig's supposition that the HBC received the originals,[15] a letter from the London Committee to Henry Kelsey of York Factory suggests that the originals were to be kept at the post while the copies (ideally cleaner and neater than the originals) were sent to London: "send us Copies of all those Journals that have been kept by yourself and

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destroyed.

[12] HBCA A.6/1 fo 14d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, instructions for John Bridgars, 15 May 1682.

[13] Examples include HBCA A.6/3 fos 108d, 125; A.6/4 fos 8d, 11d, 29, 43d.

[14] HBCA A.6/4 fo 33d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Thomas Maclish, Albany Fort, 1719.

[15] Craig, 67.

others."[16] Another letter from the London Committee, this time addressed to chief factor Thomas Moore at Albany, also indicates that the copies, not the originals, were sent to London. The committee comments that they were "very much surprised at your Negligence in having left the first 6 weeks of your Journal at East Main as you assert, and beginning the Journal you sent home...from whence it appears plainly that the Copy You transmitted to Us, was not proceeded upon until your return to Albany Fort."[17] According to Barbara Belyea, Chief Factor James Isham directed his second-in-command and accountant, Andrew Graham, to make a copy for the London Committee of inland trader Anthony Henday's journal.[18]

Often the time-consuming task of copying the post journals fell to the trading post's second-in-command, or if the amount of transcribing became significant the HBC hired a full-time writer. During the 1760s and 1770s, Churchill in particular was a beehive of activity, so that the chief factor, then Moses Norton, had to resort to employing his manservant as an additional copyist. On 11 May 1773 he noted: "the Writer and my servant geting the writeing forward."[19] The practice for writing and then copying the journal at Churchill during Hearne's tenure as chief factor is hinted at in the post journals themselves. The most obvious indication of transcription is that the majority of post journals written during Hearne's time as chief factor survive in the hand of someone else. It is certain that Hearne was the original author of these journals, and not the post writer, for they all contain phrases characteristic of Hearne, such as "flying showers of rain," while the handwriting in the journals itself changes, indicating different people were given the task. While Hearne made entries generally on a daily basis, recording pertinent information while still fresh in his mind (sometimes in the winter he would make one entry summarizing a few days' events), the writer worked on the copy on a periodic basis and could be expected to participate in labour intensive seasonal activities, such as the goose hunt.[20] Hearne at times indicated in the journals when he set writers to task: "writers employed Writting" appeared often with slight variations in spelling.[21]

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[16] HBCA A.6/4 fo 43d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Henry Kelsey, 1 June 1720: also cited in *The Kelsey Papers*, introduction by Arthur G. Doughty and Chester Martin (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 1929), p. xvii.

[17] HBCA A.5/1 fo 95, p. 189, London Correspondence Book Outwards- General Series, letter to Thomas Moore, Albany, 25 May 1769.

[18] Barbara Belyea, ed and commentator. *A Year Inland: The Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2000), 16. This copy is catalogued in the HBCA as B.239/a/40 and is in Graham's handwriting. As I have done with regard to Hearne, in cases where I have cited Belyea's editorial comments, I have chosen to credit her directly, but if I had cited a passage from Henday's text, I would have cited Henday as author.

[19] HBCA B.42/a/86 fo 48d, Churchill Post Journal. William Jefferson was the writer and Joseph Hansom, the servant, in this entry. Jefferson went on to become the Second at Churchill under Hearne's tenure as chief factor, and then succeeded him to the top post in 1787.

Duplication allowed for the introduction of changes and there is evidence of such transcription errors in the post journals. It seems Hearne regularly took the opportunity to review the copied journal, and other documents in Churchill's packet, prior to putting them on board for shipment to London. During this typically short period Hearne completed the last few entries in the journal that the clerk or writer had otherwise transcribed. An example of Hearne's handwriting from one of the Churchill post journals is provided on the following page.[22] Elsewhere in some of the journals Hearne's handwriting appears above the writer's entry or in the margins, apparently intended to

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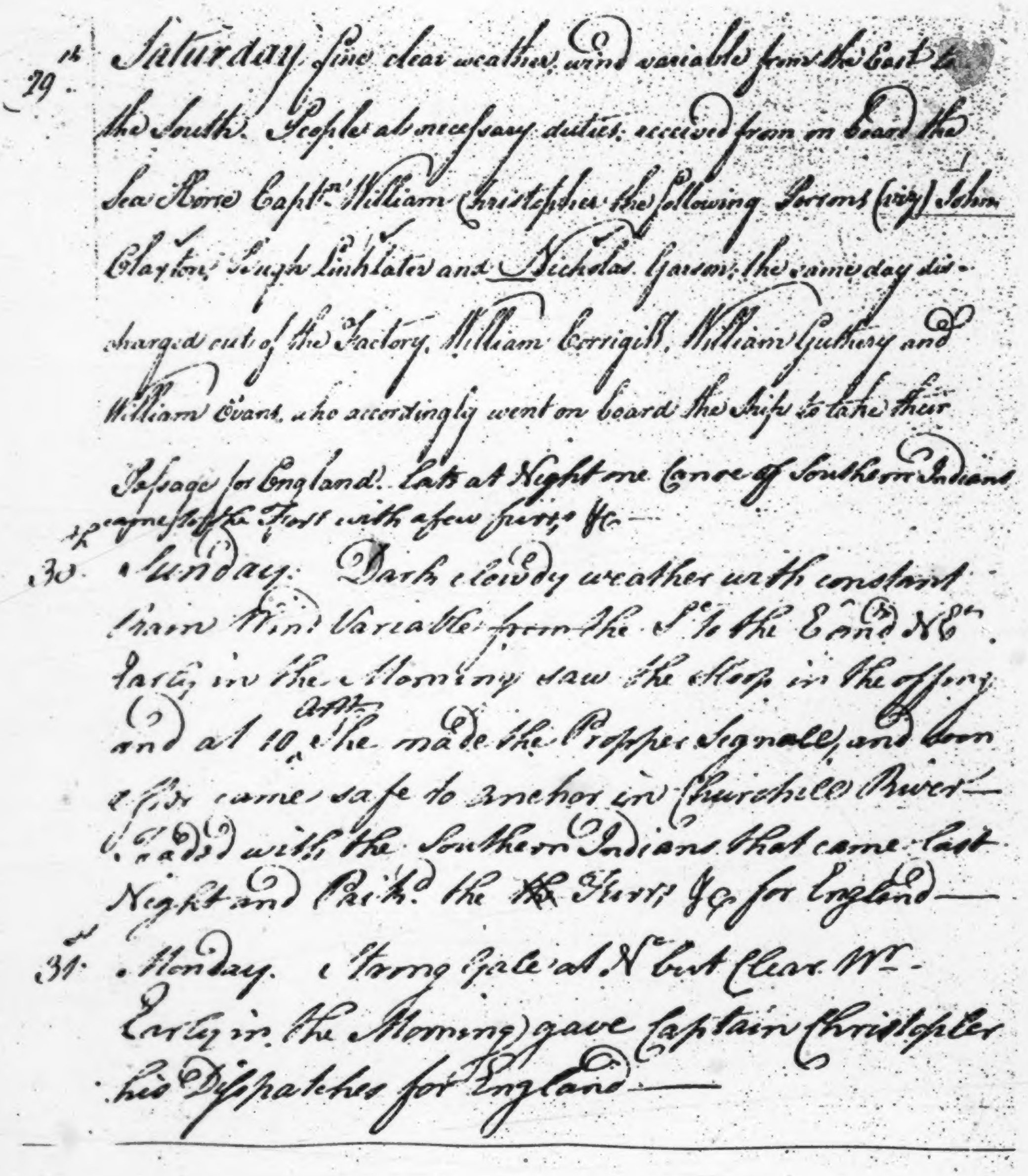
[20] Hearne's post journal notes support the contention that the writers did not work daily transcribing documents. For example, he sent two writers hunting for partridges and gathering cut grass from the hay marsh one spring. See HBCA B.42/a/94 fo 32, Churchill Post Journal 1776-77, 19 May 1777.

[21] HBCA B.42/a/92 fo 34d, Churchill Post Journal, 17 June 1776.

[22] Hearne begins writing halfway through the second last line of the entry for 29 August 1778 and continues through to the end of the page. I recognized Hearne's handwriting in the post journals based upon the large number of documents that unquestionably were in Hearne's hand, such as the *Speedwell* and the two Cumberland House journals, and the collection of letters from Hearne to the London Committee. Such letters were always in the hand of the author.

Figure 2: Example of Hearne's Handwriting at the Seasonal Close of the Churchill Post Journal, 29 (last 1.5 lines), 30, and 31 August, 1778



29 Saturday fine clear weather wind variable from the East to
the South. Peoples at necessary duties: received from on board the
Sea Horse Captn. William Christopher the following Persons (viz) John
Clayton, Hugh Linklater and Nicholas Garson: the same day dis-
charged out of the Factory William Corrigill, William Guthrey and
William Evans who accordingly went on board the Ship to take their
Passage for England. Late at Night one Canoe of Southern Indians
came to the Fort with a few Furrs &c—

30. Sunday. Dark cloudy weather with constant
Rain Wind Variable from the So. to the E and No.
Early in the Morning saw the Sloop in the offing
and at 10 AM she made the Proper Signalls, and soon
after came safe to anchor in Churchill River—
Traded with the Southern Indians that came last
Night and Pack'd the ~~th~~ Furrs &c for England—

31. Monday. Strong Gale at No but Clear Wr.-
Early in the Morning gave Captain Christopher
his Dispatches for England—

correct copying errors.[23] In the 1785-86 journal Hearne's handwriting appears intermittently for the purpose of correcting HBC apprentice George Charles' transcription errors.[24] Given the amount of detail amassed in a year's worth of journal keeping, it is highly unlikely that Hearne would have been able to add in missed lines of text to an otherwise sensible passage without reference to another document, namely the original post journal.[25] The versions sent to London sometimes contain gaps in the text that seem to reflect an error in transcription rather than a missing thought in the original draft copy. There are a few examples in the journals where Hearne added the missing text before sending the transcription to his employers. As is demonstrated on the next page with an example from the last page of the post journal for the 1785-86 season, Hearne crossed out the entry for 15 August, replaced it with different information, and then rewrote the original entry under 16 August. It is impossible for him to have known that Tuesday's

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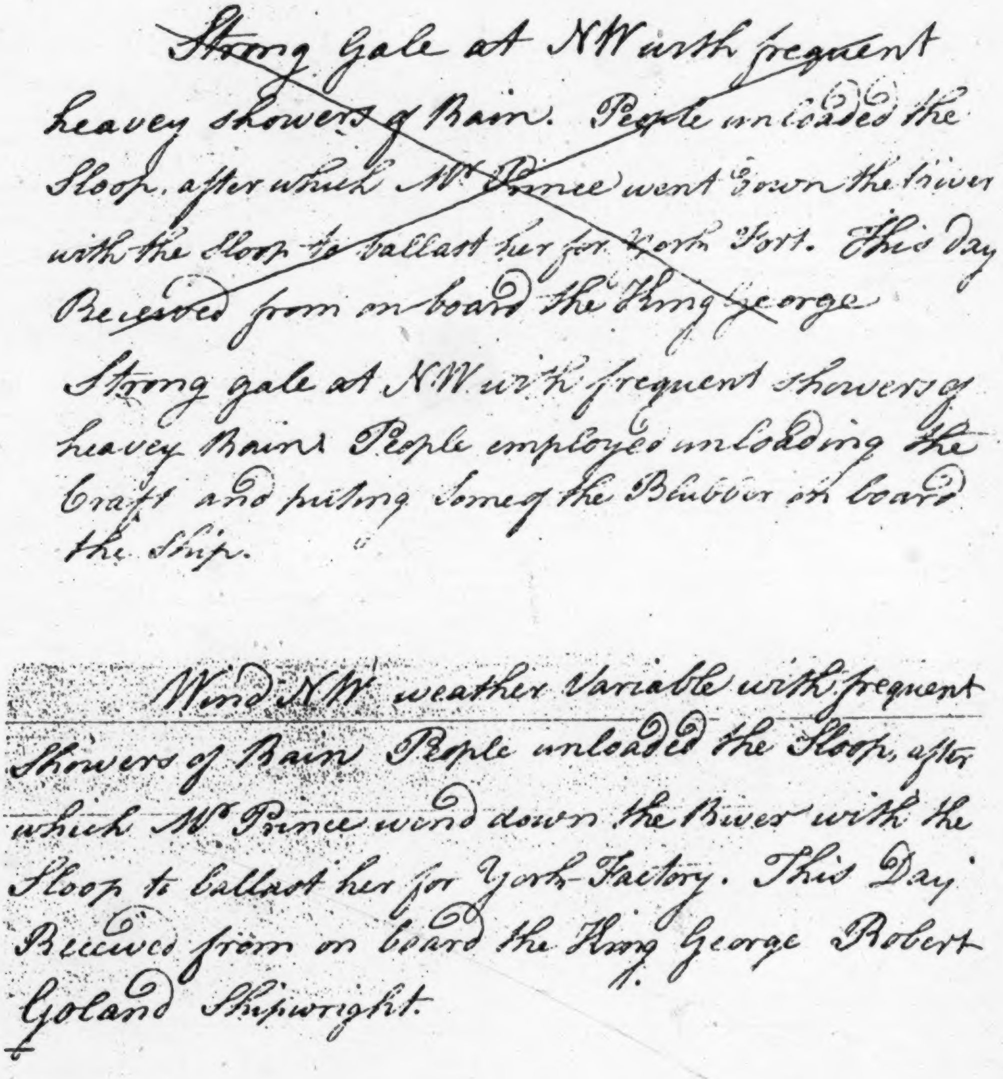
[23] HBCA B.42/a/ 92 fo 46, Churchill Post Journal, 1775-76, 23-26 Aug. 1776; B.42/a/94 fo 46, Churchill Post Journal, 1776-77, 24-25 Aug. 1777; B.42/a/96 fo 48, Churchill Post Journal, 1777-78, 29-31 Aug. 1778; B.42/a/98 fo 58, Churchill Post Journal, 16-17 Sept. 1779; B.42/a/104 fos 35d-36, Churchill Post Journal, 1784-85, 26 August-1 Sept. 1785; B.42/a/106 fos 42-46d, Churchill Post Journal 1785-86, 20 July through 18 Aug. 1786. Hearne's additional comments reflect corrections to the transcription. The nature of the additions suggests that the writer forgot to add a key word in the sentence such as the subject. The additions are not opinions.

[24] Charles arrived at Churchill in the fall of 1785. As with David Thompson, the HBC had taken him on as an apprentice with the hope of his evolving into the role of an inland surveyor. The London Committee instructed Hearne to involve the boy in writing exercises and in the taking of astronomical observations until Robert Longmoor was able to take him inland. As Hearne's relationship with the committee was replete with misgivings and mistrust, this may be why Hearne indicates in the post journal every time Charles was employed as instructed; for example, Hearne twice entered the phrase "Boy employed Writeing," followed later by "Boy writeing the Factory Journal." See HBCA B.42/a/106 fos 22d, 23, 42d, Churchill Post Journal 1785-86; A.6/13 fo 133, letter from the London Committee to Samuel Hearne, 4 May 1785.

[25] Hearne's handwriting appears in the form of corrections in the following places: HBCA B.42/a/106 fos. 22, 26, 26d, 28, Churchill Post Journal, 1785-86, 27 March, 24-25, 27, and 30 April, 4 May 1786. Two examples of Hearne adding missed text occur in the entries for 27 March and 24 April 1786. There are others in the same journal.

Figure 3: Example of a Copying Error, in Hearne's hand, from the Churchill Post Journal, 15 and 16 August 1786



~~Strong Gale at NW with frequent heavey showers of Rain. People unloaded the Sloop, after which Mr Prince went down the River with the Sloop to ballast her for York Fort. This day Received from on board the King George~~

Strong gale at N W with frequent showers of heavey Rain People employed unloading the Craft and puting some of the Blubber on board the Ship.

Wind NW weather Variable with frequent Showers of Rain People unloaded the Sloop, after which Mr Prince went down the River with the Sloop to ballast her for York-Factory. This Day Received from on board the King George Robert Goland Shipwright.

entry actually belonged under Wednesday unless he entered this information after the fact, which suggests that Hearne copied these entries from an original journal.[26]

Eventually, the HBC began to request duplicates of almost every form of written report. As early as 1738 the London Committee instructed chief factors to keep a warehouse book and a journal account of the daily use of provisions and send them duplicates of both records, in addition to the post journal and correspondence books. The committee even outlined its preferred format of chief factor's letter responses: "Wee - order that you do answere them [the letters] Methodically, Paragraph, by Paragraph, as they are numbered."[27] By 1747 the annual letter to chief and council at Churchill typically included a request for duplicates of letters to the London Committee, ship signals, and invoices for goods traded and required. Nearly identical requests appear regularly thereafter.[28] After 1768, at the initiative of Churchill's chief factor, Humphrey Marten, post correspondence books were also duplicated and sent to London: "We are much pleased with Your sending the Book of Correspondence and...have enjoined a continuance thereof...with all Our Factories as thereby fuller Satisfaction arises than the Journals can possibly advise us of."[29] As with the post journals, it appears that the London Committee expected to receive the neat and polished duplicate, or fair copy, instead of the original. Humphrey Marten, now chief factor of York, sent a letter in 1785 to Hearne, then chief factor of Churchill, informing him of a rumour at Moose that Churchill had been destroyed once more. As proof of the rumour, Marten promised to send along the original letters from Moose after he had finished copying them into the correspondence book meant for London.[30] In spite of the HBC's proclivity for duplication, the original and all possible copies of Hearne's journals documenting his attempts to reach the Coppermine River are missing from the company records. Part of the explanation for this mishap derives from the London Committee's differing treatment of certain types of journals.

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[26] *Churchill Post Journal, 1785-86*, B.42/a/106 fos. 46-46d.

[27] HBCA A.6/6 fo 7d-8d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Richard Norton and Council, Churchill, 18 May 1738. Historian Richard Glover supports this interpretation of HBC records policy; see Glover, "Introduction," *Letters from Hudson Bay 1703-1740*, ed K.G. Davies, asst. by A.M. Johnson (London: HBRS, 1965), xxii.

[28] HBCA A.6/7 fo 110, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Robert Pilgrim and Council, Prince of Wales's Fort, 6 May 1747; examples of similar requests are found regularly throughout this series of documents.

[29] HBCA A.5/1 fo 83d, London Correspondence Book Outwards- General Series, Letter to Humphrey Marten, 11 May 1768. Correspondence books consist of letters sent from and received at one location, be it a post or the company headquarters. Thus, a letter sent from Churchill to York should be replicated in the correspondence books for both York and Churchill. These letters are generally not the originals, although sometimes the originals are affixed next to the transcribed copy.

The HBC's duplication policy for sloop journals and inland expeditionary journals was quite unlike that for other company records. As with all other events and transactions relating to company business, the HBC expected its sloop captains to keep a written account of their activities and send it back to London with the fall ship.[31] However, unlike the rest of the company's business, it appears that the captain was not expected to produce his journal in duplicate and the original was sent directly to London. It is difficult to account for the differing treatment for in many ways these journals mirrored the post journals in content, purpose, and style. They too are written in very simple prose with minimal attention to grammar, spelling, or punctuation. They are also organized chronologically and tend to contain little in the way of the author's reflections, but often document trade results - an important reference for chief factors in defending their actions to their superiors.[32] Thus, surprisingly and inexplicably, the chief factor would not have had access to these trading records for future reference. It may be that certain chief factors had duplicates made for their own future reference, but these actions are not indicated in the records.

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[30] HBCA B.42/b/27 fo 9d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1784-85; same passage appears on B.239/b/44 fo 11, York Correspondence Book 1784-85, Humphrey Marten, York, to Samuel Hearne, Churchill, 16 August 1785.

[31] In a letter to Moses Norton and Council, Prince of Wales's Fort, 25 May 1768, the London Committee states "We direct that the two Sloop Masters do continue [to send] their Journals." HBCA A.6/11 fo 36, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official. The emphasis in "continue" indicates that it was a previously existing practice. Indeed, this is the case as suggested by a letter to Richard Norton: A.6/6 fo 109d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, 1736.

Evidence that captains did not make copies of their journals is deduced from a number of sources. The handwriting in the sloop journals associated with Churchill Factory never matches that in the post journals and the only other likely source is the captain. Furthermore, the handwriting associated with a specific boat appears consistent with the tenure of a particular captain. For example, Hearne's one season as master of the *Speedwell* in 1768 coincides with the sole journal for this boat in Hearne's hand.[33] As well there was not one instance of a copying error, like those found in the post journals, during the entire period examined (1717-1787) for this study. Most convincingly, there is no evidence of a request for duplicates in directives sent to the captains from the London Committee, including those sent to Hearne regarding the *Speedwell*.[34]

The London Committee appears to have held similar expectations for inland expeditionary journals. Not one of the HBC directives regarding a series of inland expeditions from Churchill just prior to Hearne's three attempts included a request for journal duplication. Their only request was that the expedition leader keep a journal and then send it to London.[35] And once again, the surviving journals in the HBC archives are free from transcription errors and are written in a hand different from that of the writer of the post journal and correspondence book, two indications that the inland journals were not copied. However, at York, at least for Anthony Henday's inland journal, this practice did not apply. Instead, his journal survives only in four copies, all transcribed by Andrew Graham; Henday's original has disappeared from HBC records.[36]

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[32] One exception is found in Samuel Hearne's two Cumberland House journals documenting his expeditions in 1774 and 1775 to establish the HBC's first inland post in the territory contested between the HBC and the Pedlars. Appended to the end of each journal is an exposition on future policy suggestions for consideration by the London Committee. Though I examined only those inland or sloop journals associated with Churchill and all material associated with Hearne, such commentary did not appear elsewhere in journals. See HBCA B.49/a/1 fos. 30-32, Cumberland House Journal, 23 June 1774 to 23 June 1775, by Samuel Hearne; and B.49/a/2 fos. 16-19d, Cumberland House Journal, 8 July - 26 October 1775, by Samuel Hearne.

[33] HBCA B. 42/a/73 fos. 2-21, Churchill Post Journal 1768, Samuel Hearne, Speedwell Sloop Journal, 16 July -22 August 1768.

[34] Moses Norton instructs Samuel Hearne regarding the journal documenting his voyage aboard the Speedwell Sloop "to set down in your Journal the particular People you carry with you as well as your daily Transactions." HBCA A.11/14 fos 93d-94, London Correspondence Book Inwards - From Churchill, Orders and Instructions for Mr. Samuel Hearne going Master's of the Speedwell...by Moses Norton, 20 July 1768.

I can deduce that Hearne followed the practice for inland journals in part from his two Cumberland House journals and in part from the Coppermine River journals. The London Committee's instructions to Hearne for the Coppermine River expedition request only that he make a journal and then send it directly to London. The committee makes no reference to the necessity of duplicates.[37] While the London Committee's instructions to

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[35] William Grover's desire to go on an inland expedition manifested itself in correspondence between Churchill's chief factor and the London Committee written over a period of a couple of years. HBCA A.6/9 fo 87, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, Letter to Ferdinand Jacobs and Council, Prince of Wales's Fort, 11 May 1758; and the same instructions appear in a letter addressed directly to Jacobs from the London Committee, HBCA A.5/1 fo 25, p. 49, London Correspondence Book Outwards - General Series, 28 May 1758. However, for reasons unknown, the expedition never occurred. Another expedition involved John Potts travelling for three days by canoe inland along the Churchill River. See HBCA A.11/14 fos. 29d-30, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, "Remarks and Transactions of my going up the River in the Year 1765" by John Potts, sailor. His instructions include the demand for a journal to be sent to London. See HBCA A.11/14 fos. 30d-31d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, "Instructions for John Potts, going inland with the Natives, from Prince of Wales's Fort" by Moses Norton.

[36] Belyea, *A Year Inland*, 19.

[37] HBCA A.11/14 fos. 130-132, Moses Norton to Samuel Hearne, 6 November 1769, "Orders and Instructions for M^{r} Samuel Hearne going on an Expedition to the Northward..."; A.11/14 fos. 132d-133d, Norton to Hearne, 22 February 1770, "Instructions for M^{r}. Sam^{l}. Hearne going to make a Second Attempt..."; and A.11/14 fos. 144-145, Norton to Hearne, 6 December 1770, "Instructions for M^{r}. Samuel Hearne going with a Northern Indian Leader Called Ma, to, na, bee, on his Third Expedition..."

Hearne regarding the Cumberland House journals have disappeared, his two journals have survived in the HBCA. They are in his hand, not that of the writer for York or Churchill. These two journals are free from the types of errors that indicate transcription in the post journals. It is logical to expect that Hearne's original intention for the Coppermine River journals was in line with other journals of this type and no different than his treatment of the *Speedwell* or Cumberland House journals. In other words, he would have sent his original journals directly on to London aboard the next available ship, perhaps with appended comments, unless other circumstances materialized.

Tracing the movement of the journals from Hearne's possession to their final, and as yet unknown, resting place is a difficult, if not impossible, task. It is, however, necessary to attempt a retracing of their journey if we are to understand the genesis of the published manuscript and the origins of the transcribed copies of the various stages of Hearne's efforts at rewriting. While none of Hearne's journals from his attempts to reach the mouth of the Coppermine River survives in the company's archives, it is certain that he manufactured a journal for each attempt. The London Committee's and Moses Norton's instructions to Samuel Hearne for each of the three attempts all stipulate that Hearne was to keep a journal. Evidence that Hearne complied is found in correspondence between the London Committee and both Hearne and Norton.

In a postscript to a letter addressed to the London Committee dated 16 February 1770 and written after the failure of the first attempt in 1769, Hearne states that he did not send in the journal from this attempt because the expedition was of short duration and of no consequence.[38] However, Hearne did send in his remarks from the second attempt, recording his own note at the end of a letter addressed to the London Committee: "[a] sketch of the Country, and my Journal I,ve left at the Forte to be sent to Your Honours." The London Committee obviously received the journal, for it responded, "M^{r} Hearne's

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[38] HBCA A.11/14 fo 140d, London Correspondence Book Inwards - from Churchill. The first attempt took place between 6 November and 11 December 1769.

Journal and the Map of his Jo^{u}rney [sic] in 1770 were very pleasing to Us."[39] When Hearne returned to the fort from the second attempt on 25 November 1770, he had but thirteen days before he set out again on 7 December for the third attempt. In this short time he would have had to gather together new supplies, recheck his navigational equipment, recuperate, as well as prepare his notes for the London Committee. Moses Norton, chief factor of Churchill, remarked on Hearne's effort in this regard on the third of December: "M^{r} Hearne geting his Journal and Dra^{u}ght forward as fast as possible."[40]

Comments by Norton, the London Committee, and even Hearne, all indicate that Hearne left his account and map of the second attempt with Norton to send to London the following August or September, as Hearne himself expected to be away on the third attempt. But elsewhere Hearne suggests a different fate for his journal. Near the end of a transcribed account of the third attempt, Hearne again explained why he had not sent in material from his earlier attempts, particularly the maps of his routes:

> I would have inserted the sketch of my two former journeys in the [3rd] draft, but on leaving the Fort in a hurry in Dec^{r} 1770 I left the principal of my remarks relative thereto in an old journal book, which I gave the Surgeon of the Fort for waste paper, & on my arrival found that I had no remarks left concerning my last draft, otherwise would have laid the Lakes & rivers down in their respective places with their communication with the Sea.[41]

Perhaps, unknown to Hearne, Moses Norton had gathered the material and forwarded it to the London Committee on the next available ship since the committee's comments indicate that they certainly received the journals and maps. The existing paper trail does not reveal the mechanism by which Hearne's first two journals reached London.

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[39] HBCA A.11/14 fo 142d, Letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee 3 December 1770; A.6/11 fo 150d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, Letter to Moses Norton and Council, Churchill, 13 May 1772.

[40] HBCA B.42/a/80 fo 22, Churchill Post Journal, 3 December 1770.

[41] "Mr. Hearne's Narrative," *Stowe MSS*, vol. 307 (1791), p. 44. Hearne left Churchill for the third attempt on 7 December 1770. This entry is not included anywhere in the published manuscript.

The situation pertaining to the journal of the third attempt is a little more clear. There is no doubt that Hearne sent the report of his third and successful attempt on to England. The London Committee wrote to the chief factor and council at Churchill that "We were greatly pleased to hear of Mr Hearnes safe return to the Factory; - His Journal and the 2 Charts were very acceptable to Us."[42] Furthermore, there is good evidence that this time, he went against standard practice for expedition journals and made a duplicate. The strongest evidence comes from Jean-François Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, who, after leading the attack against two HBC forts in August 1782, claimed that when Hearne surrendered he had kept his account of the third attempt firmly in possession, but only with La Pérouse's permission.[43] As Hearne made no requests to the HBC for a copy of his journal in the interim between his return from the expedition in June 1772 and La Pérouse's attack, and we know that the HBC had a copy of the journal at its London headquarters during that time, the journal carried by Hearne must have been the original worn fieldbook or another copy.[44] It also might have been a reworked narrative, but for

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[42] HBCA A.6/11 fo 172, London Correspondence Outward - HBC Official, Letter to Moses Norton and Council, Churchill, 12 May 1773. On the same date the HBC wrote to Hearne expressing similar thoughts: "Your Journal and the two Charts you sent sufficiently convinced us of your very judicious Remarks." See A.5/1 fo 151d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - General Series, Letter from the London Committee to Samuel Hearne 12 May 1773. Finally, in yet another letter dated 12 May 1773 and addressed to Hearne the London Committee states "We have received the Journal of your Expedition to the Coppermine River in the years 1771 and 1772 together with two Maps describing the course you took..." See A.6/11 fo 175. A similar statement is made in the London Committee Minute Book entry for 23 December 1772: "Mr. Hearne...sent home 2 Journals of his Observations. And 3 Maps of the Country he travelled through and of the Copper Mine River[.]" See A.1/44 fo 61.

[43] J.B. Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1911), 20; Richard Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xxxiv. See also the beginning of Chapter Five.

[44] It is not known whether Hearne carried only a document representing his original notes (the original journal book or a copy of it) or a reworked version. It is possible that he had both as there is strong evidence from within the published account that certain excerpts were written prior to 1782, excerpts which do not appear in either the Grenville or Stowe Manuscripts. Internal evidence is discussed in Chapter 7, and the two manuscripts in Chapter 5.

Hearne to have prepared this narrative with all the dates and observations he would have had to possess a reference text - in other words, he had to have had his own journal or a copy thereof.

It is not known whether Hearne sent on his original journal to London or kept it for himself, sending instead a transcription. However, after the journal had endured eighteen months outdoors it was likely weather-beaten, stained, and perhaps even torn. Hearne may have had no choice but to recopy the fragile journal notes into a clean book - a fair copy. Given the HBC's past reprimands to clerks for illegibility, this is a plausible motive.[45] He may have also wanted the opportunity to elaborate on some of his rough notes. The HBCA materials do not disclose when he did so, or how closely the copy represented the contents of the original journal.

Using the post journal, it is possible to reconstruct when Hearne most likely produced this fair copy for the London Committee. After Hearne's return from the northern trek in June 1772, he had a couple of months to ready his journals and maps before sending them to London on the fall ship. According to the Churchill Post Journal for the 1771-72 season, Hearne enjoyed a fairly leisurely summer; the only reference to him appears in the entry for 16 August when he surveyed the body of the *Churchill* sloop for signs of wear.[46] Hearne's activities were otherwise regularly listed in these journals and therefore the absence of references to him probably indicates that Norton had decided to allow Hearne time to himself. Certainly he would have had time to make a direct copy of his journal sometime in July or August before the ship sailed in September. Clearly Hearne took it upon himself to manufacture duplicates of his journals, contrary to standard practice for expeditions and contrary to what he had done for the *Speedwell* journal or would do for the Cumberland House journals.

It remains to explain the fate of the now-missing original journals documenting

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[45] Simmons, "A History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives," 334, 335.

[46] HBCA B.42/a/83 fo 88d, Churchill Post Journal 1771-72, 16 August 1772.

Hearne's three attempts to locate the northern copper mines and the fair copies.[47] At one point, the HBC held the original journals or fair copies from the first two attempts and the fair copy from the third attempt at company headquarters in London. There are numerous means by which the documents could have disappeared. The story begins with Samuel Wegg, who, as Governor of the HBC, relaxed the company's guarded attitude toward its records. He intended to grant persons, such as members of the Royal Society, access to certain company records, particularly employees' observations of the local flora and fauna, climate, and Native cultures. The Royal Society's acknowledgment of the HBC's willingness to cooperate and give credit to deserving HBC employees, heightened the HBC's respectability and influence in a time when many in the British business world questioned the usefulness of monopolistic trading organizations. Thus, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the HBC changed its secretive stance towards its records; for example, it encouraged employees, such as Andrew Graham and Samuel Hearne, to publicize their observations and journals. As well, the company began to grant outsiders, such as cartographer Aaron Arrowsmith, access to its records. Arrowsmith's earliest map of North America was published in 1795 and on it he acknowledged the company for access to its documents.[48] In part, this changed attitude was due to the company's desire for improved public relations, particularly after the Dobbs' affair and the Parliamentary Enquiry of 1749, and in response to the increased public resentment of private chartered companies.[49]

Since the HBC's inception, members of the Royal Society could be found among the fur trading company's shareholders and its governing core, the London Committee. According to R.P. Stearns, the Royal Society "studiously cultivated" memberships in both organizations for the purpose of encouraging the HBC to undertake joint ventures related to the society's intellectual pursuits.[50] Hearne's career with the HBC overlapped with Samuel Wegg's tenure, and Wegg was perhaps the most influential of the persons to have membership in both organizations. A lawyer by trade, Wegg was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1753, remained a member of its council for thirty-seven years, and served as treasurer for all but three of those years. As early as 1760, Wegg began attending monthly dinners at the society's Royal Philosophers Club, or as it was more commonly known, the Thursday Club. It was here that he met cartographer Alexander Dalrymple and Captain James Cook, both of whom are on the list of those suspected of being responsible for the disappearance of Hearne's journals. Meanwhile, from 1748 to 1799, Wegg was also a stockholder in the HBC. The London Committee invited Wegg to join them in 1760, and he sat as governor for seventeen years, beginning in 1782.[51]

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[47] It is not known if Hearne made a fair copy of the first two attempts. He did, however, do so for the third attempt.

[48] Ruggles, "Governor Samuel Wegg: 'The Winds of Change'," *The Beaver* 307 (Autumn, 1976), 17, 20.

[49] On public sentiments toward chartered companies see Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 75.

While Wegg was a member of the councils of both organizations, he encouraged a number of shared projects. Wegg oversaw the organization of the Royal Society's plan to send astronomers William Wales and Joseph Dymond to the HBC's Churchill post for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus during the summer of 1769.[52] Wegg simultaneously encouraged HBC personnel to contribute in their own way to the broadening of knowledge. That same year HBC employee Andrew Graham and British naturalist Thomas Pennant enquired whether the society would enjoy receiving specimens of flora and fauna on a systematic basis from Rupert's Land; both the HBC and Royal Society agreed to institute the joint venture. HBC employees provided the specimens and sometimes written observations, while society members organized, described, and catalogued the items.[53] In 1771 the society acknowledged Graham and fellow HBC employee Thomas Hutchins for the presentation of "eight boxes of stuffed and dried skins of Quadrupeds, Birds etc; and also a collection of stones and Fossils; and there was delivered at the Table a manuscript in Folio entitled 'Descriptive and Historical remarks on the several articles sent from Severn river in Hudson's Bay'." Furthermore, "it was moved...that the thanks of the President and Council shall be given...for this very valuable present, as well as for their readiness upon this and all other occasions to promote science in general, and particularly the knowledge of natural history." Based on its employees' voluntary efforts, the HBC sent the Royal Society three other large collections over the following few years.[54]

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[50] R.P. Stearns, "The Royal Society and the Company," *The Beaver* 276 (June, 1945), 8-9.

[51] Richard Glover, "A Note on John Richardson's "Digression Concerning Hearne's Route"," *Canadian Historical Review* 32.3 (1951), 258; Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting*, 5; Ruggles, "Governor Samuel Wegg, 11- 13 ; Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Graham's Observations* (1969), 357.

[52] HBCA A.1/43 fo 43d, London Minute Book ,27 January 1768 contains a reference to the society's proposal dated 22 December 1767; A.6/11 fos. 37-37d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Moses Norton and Council, Prince of Wales's Fort, 25 May 1768; Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey*, xlii; E.E. Rich, *History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, vol. 2, (1960), 98; Ruggles "Governor Samuel Wegg," 12; Stearns, 12; J.B. Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey*, 4. As a measure of thanks, in 1771 the Royal Society presented the HBC with ten copies of its *Philosophical Transactions* volume containing Wales's report. See HBCA A.1/43 fo 180d, London Minute Book 20 November 1771.

The relationship, as fostered by Wegg, benefitted the HBC as well. The company received advice about ways to expand its trade from the society's knowledgeable members. For example, in a letter to the Governor and Committee of the HBC, dated 5 May 1773, the society remarked on possible uses for some of the items it had received in recent collections:

> Having endeavoured to find out whether some of the natural productions which you have been so obliging as to present to the Royal Society may not furnish materials for our manufactures, we take the liberty of stating to you the result of our inquiry.
>
> We have put some parts of one of the Buffalo's hides into the hands

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[53] Glyndwr Williams, "Andrew Graham and Thomas Hutchins: Collaboration and Plagiarism in 18th-Century Natural History," *The Beaver* (Spring, 1978), 7.

[54] Ruggles, "Governor Samuel Wegg," 13; Stearns, 12. In 1773 the Royal Society acknowledged recent donations and requested "to have Specimens of Sea Fish, Insects, Plants, and Drift Wood, from Hudson Bay." See HBCA A.1/44 fos. 64-64d, London Minute Book 3 February 1773.

> of a Tanner and are informed both by a very experienced Leather dresser and Book-binder, that it seems to be as good a material as the Skin of the Russian Buffalo for Bookbinding; if these Skins therefore can be procured in any quantity, the importation may answer well to the Company...
>
> As you have presented to the Society likewise a Specimen of a wild Swan, we have put the Skin into the hands of an importer, and we shall perhaps surprize when we inform you that if it had been in a state to be properly dressed, it would have been worth at least a Guinea and an half, so scarce is this commodity at present and so great is the demand for Powder puffs, the best sort of which can only be made from Swan down.[55]

The Royal Society recognized certain HBC employees' efforts to provide new information. For example, it elected HBC Captain Christopher Middleton as a Fellow in 1737 and awarded him the prestigious Copley Medal in 1742 for his navigational reports pertaining to Hudson Bay and the search for the Northwest Passage. In December 1783, during Wegg's tenure, the Society gave Thomas Hutchins, then chief factor at Albany, the Copley Medal for his efforts in ascertaining the freezing point of mercury.[56] According to historian Glyndwr Williams, "[t]he achievement of Samuel Wegg was that he helped the Company of his day to distinguish between information which because of its commercial importance was properly confidential, and that which was not."[57] Most significantly, at least for understanding the history of Hearne's writing of the narrative, Wegg's policy helps to explain the disappearance of Hearne's journals from the HBC's records.

Alexander Dalrymple, cartographer of the East Indian Company, hydrographer for the British Admiralty, and a Fellow of the Royal Society, was precisely the type of person Wegg had in mind as a researcher in the HBC's records. Dalrymple had broad interests in geography and exploration as they pertained to the furthering of British colonization and trade. According to historical geographer Richard Ruggles, Dalrymple knew Wegg well, and eventually the two developed a friendship. Through the Royal Society, specifically the Thursday Club, the two men attended 65 dinners together between the years 1779 and 1799. It was soon after the commencement of their dinner meetings that Wegg gave Dalrymple permission to use HBC records for the purposes of creating a map. Proof that Dalrymple used Hearne's journals and maps toward this end appears in two publications, the first of which, *Memoir of a Map of the Lands around the North-Pole* (1789), consisted of a map that included Hearne's depiction of the Coppermine River as it emptied into the Arctic Ocean as well as Dalrymple's explanation and methodology.[58] The second publication, *Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade,* Dalrymple used to propose a union between the HBC and the East India Company.[59] Here he acknowledged the role of "My Friend" Samuel Wegg, who provided "every information, in possession of The *Hudson's-Bay Company*...and, by this liberal communication, it was with much satisfaction I found, that the *Geographical Materials*, in their possession, were very copious, and much exceeded my expectations." He also commented that since the circulating copies of Hearne's map contradicted one another, he chose to "follow the Original in the Hudson's-Bay Company's possession."[60] Clearly then, the copy Hearne sent to the HBC still resided in the London headquarters during the 1780s.

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[55] Stearns, 13. The London Committee noted the receipt of this letter in its minutes dated 12 May 1773, and commented on the potential use of buffalo hides and swan skins. It also mentioned receiving from the Royal Society "a Hat & apair of Stockings made from the Hair of which hung near the Neck of one of the Buffaloes Heads that were sent from Prince of Wales Fort last year." See HBCA A.1/44 fos 77-79d, London Minute Book, 12 May 1773.

[56] Stearns, 10, 13.

[57] Ruggles, "Governor Samuel Wegg," 10. On Wegg's lending HBC documents to outsiders: Glover, "A Note on John Richardson's 'Digression'," 258; Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xxvii-xxviii; Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting*, 5; and Williams, ed., *Graham's Observations*, 357.

The HBC also had ties to the British Admiralty. The company's friendly relationship with the Admiralty was based in part upon the HBC's status as a business with a royal charter. The Admiralty provided protection for HBC ships on transatlantic voyages during times of war.[61] But the relationship was also cooperative; for example, in 1774, the HBC provided the Admiralty with information about Hearne's journey, information that it likely used later to assist Captain James Cook with his intended exploration of the Pacific coast of North America.[62] In contrast to efforts to search for the elusive waterway along the Hudson Bay coast, this time the Admiralty planned to look for the opening along the northwestern coast of North America.[63] Wegg would have been familiar with the plans, and indeed with Cook himself, through the activities of the Royal Society.[64] Before Cook departed in 1776, Wegg loaned the Admiralty "a copy of Hearne's journal, and three of his maps."[65] Cook's *Voyages* contains considerable evidence that the HBCA's fair copy of Hearne's third attempt was still in existence by the time the book became available in 1784.[66] Lieutenant Henry Roberts, who was responsible for putting together the maps for *Voyages*, acknowledges his gratitude to

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[58] A. Dalrymple, *Memoir of a Map of the Lands around The North-Pole*, (London, printed by George Biggs, 1789); Ruggles, "Governor Samuel Wegg," 14, 17, 20.

[59] A. Dalrymple, *Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade, and Securing it for this Country, by Uniting The East-India and Hudson's Bay Companys* (London: printed by George Biggs, 1789).

[60] Dalrymple, *Memoir of a Map*, B, 4.

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[61] HBCA A.5/1 fo 18 p 35, London Correspondence Book Outwards - General Series, letter to Captain John Spurrell, 21 July 1756. In the letter the London Committee describes its efforts to organize protection through the British Admiralty for the return voyage from the Orkneys to London. There are a series of these types of letters to various captains for the duration of the Seven Years War.

[62] Glyndwr Williams, "Cook, James," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 165.

[63] Ernest Dodge, *Northwest by Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 227; Glyndwr Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, 1962), 172-73.

[64] Ruggles, Governor Samuel Wegg,"14.

[65] Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage*, 172.

[66] J. Tuzo Wilson looks at the history of the map Hearne sent to London of his third attempt in "New Light on Hearne," *The Beaver* 279 (June 1949) 14-18. In "The James F. Bell Collection," *The Beaver* 278 (December 1948): 38-39, Donald Warner describes HBCA documents within this collection at the University of Minnesota, including a map made by Hearne of the Coppermine River section of his third attempt. I was able to identify Hearne's handwriting on both maps.

Wegg for permitting him access to HBC documents, and, specifically to "Mr. Hearne's Journals, and the map of his route to the Coppermine River..." In the introduction to *Voyages*, the editor, Reverend John Douglas, thanks Wegg for arranging meetings with Hearne.[67] These gatherings most likely would have occurred during the winter of 1782-83 when Hearne was in London because the French had destroyed Churchill earlier that August. Douglas may have viewed Hearne's journal at this point. However, Douglas may have seen a different textual document than Roberts had, either instead of or in addition to the copy of Hearne's journals held by the HBC in London. The significant differences between the transcriptions of what is believed to be Hearne's original journal (the Stowe and Grenville manuscripts) and the excerpt that appears in the introduction to *Voyages* suggests that Hearne may have lent Douglas a version of the narrative work in progress.[68] The Admiralty called upon the HBC to provide a vessel and support for an expedition to Hudson Bay led by the Admiralty's Captain Duncan from 1790 to 1792. Duncan was charged with laying to rest, yet again, the possibility of finding the Northwest Passage in Hudson Bay.[69] Hearne noted in his preface to *A Journey* that Thomas Hutchins, who at that time held the title Corresponding Secretary to the Company, had borrowed from Hearne a manuscript chapter from the Coppermine River narrative on the vocabulary of the Chipewyan to make a copy for Captain Duncan to use on the upcoming voyage, but, as Hearne described it, "Mr. Hutchins dying soon after, the Vocabulary was taken away with the rest of his effects, and cannot now be recovered; and memory at this time, will by no means serve to replace it."[70] However, this is not the fate of the fair copy of Hearne's third attempt because there is evidence that others continued to use it.

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[67] Ruggles, "Governor Samuel Wegg,"18.

[68] Ian MacLaren presents a slightly different explanation for the presence of the text used by Douglas. Rather than Hearne providing Douglas with an intermediate stage of the narrative, MacLaren suggests that Douglas may have shaped some parts of the narrative himself. See I.S. MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," 56.

[69] Ruggles, "Governor Samuel Wegg," 20.

In the early 1790s, two final uses appear to have been made of Hearne's journal (original or fair copy). First, Edward Umfreville, a former employee of the HBC turned critic, managed to get access to some form of Hearne's account, for Umfreville included an excerpt in his 1790 publication.[71] Next, a transcription entitled "Mr. Hearne's Narrative" was made in 1791 and preserved in the Stowe Manuscripts. It is not known whether this document was copied from the fair copyl in possession of the HBC in London or based upon another intermediate copy, such as the manuscript in the Dropmore Papers of the Grenville Manuscripts entitled "Hearne's Journal 1770-72 from the Original in the Possession of the Hudson's Bay Company."[72] As the copyist did not date the Grenville MS, it is much more difficult to ascertain a likely date for its production.[73] We know that the fair copy of the third attempt and either the original journals or the fair copies documenting the first two attempts were still among the company's papers when Hearne borrowed them sometime between his return to London in the fall of 1787 and his death in 1792.[74] It is more likely he borrowed the HBC's copies sooner rather than later after his return to London given the declining state of his health. But, after 1792 there are no further references to Hearne's journals being loaned from the company's records. Of course, since Hearne's account of all three attempts was published in 1795, HBC permission for access to its papers was no longer necessary.

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[70] Hearne, "Preface," *A Journey* (1958), lii. Hutchins formerly resided in Rupert's Land and had worked with Andrew Graham on one of the latter's volumes of "Observations."

[71] Umfreville, *The Present State of Hudson's Bay* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), 24-26, orig. pub. London: Charles Stalker, 1790. The means by which Umfreville acquired the Hearne excerpt is discussed in Chapter Five.

[72] *Dropmore Papers, Grenville MS.* ADD. 59237, 47ff., Department of Manuscripts, British Library.

[73] Dating the Grenville MS is discussed in Chapter 5.

[74] Glover, *A Journey* (1958), xliii.

The final destination of Hearne's original journal (if it had not fallen apart) from the third attempt is similarly cloaked in mystery. One would assume that upon his retirement from the HBC in 1787 he brought his personal copy of the third attempt with him back to London, although this would then raise the question of why he wanted access to the HBC's fair copy. A clue lies in comments by Dr John Richardson, an avid naturalist who had participated in numerous expeditions through the Canadian Arctic. Richardson indicated that Hearne may well have inadvertently left his own copy behind. Captain George Back, in his *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition...in 1833, 1834 and 1835*, includes a chapter by Richardson titled "Digression Concerning Hearne's Route." Richardson claims to have handled a copy of Hearne's journal, not in London, but in Rupert's Land. There is reason to believe him because he was able to make the comparison between the different astronomical observations as they appeared in the journal and then in the 1795 published text: "[h]is printed work does not, however, quote his courses and distances so full as his original journal (a copy of which we saw at Hudson's Bay)."[75] My own comparison of these documents, using the Stowe and Grenville manuscripts to represent Hearne's journal or the report he sent to London, and Glover's 1958 edition of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* to represent the 1795 text, supports Richardson's observations; he undoubtedly saw something by Hearne.

However, it is unclear where Richardson viewed Hearne's work. First, he refrains from providing the specifics of when or where he viewed it. There is no proof Richardson ever visited Churchill, the most likely repository of Hearne's work. During the 1820s Richardson had travelled over portions of the same route Hearne used to reach the copper mines. In 1821 Richardson traced the same part of the Coppermine River; one year later he went from Fort Providence to Great Slave Lake and then on to York Factory, and in 1826 he passed along the Arctic coastline between the Mackenzie and Coppermine

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[75] John Richardson, "Digression concerning Hearne's Route," in Captain George Back's *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition* (Edmonton: M.C. Hurtig, 1970), 147.

Rivers.[76] It is also unclear what it was that Richardson saw. If the version he encountered was at York, it may have derived from one of the transcribed extracts Andrew Graham collected during the winter of 1773-74.[77] It is also possible that if Hearne believed he had edited his narrative sufficiently before departing from Rupert's Land in 1787, he may have left behind at Churchill a copy of his journal or an older version of the draft narrative. All that can be said, beyond this speculative explanation, is that whatever form of the Coppermine River journal Richardson viewed, it, like the original post journals and correspondence between posts, has not survived in the HBC's archives.

This study of the development of the Hudson's Bay Company's record-keeping policies has helped to demonstrate how the original journals, and the fair copies (when they existed) documenting Hearne's three attempts to locate the northern copper mines could have disappeared. Their absence makes the study of the evolution of the Coppermine River narrative a challenging undertaking. It is still possible to establish what these documents would have been like and whether Hearne possessed the capability to alter them according to the literary style present in *A Journey* by studying Hearne's writing style preferences in the large collection of journals and letters in his hand, contained in the HBCA. This approach is the subject of the following chapter.

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[76] Captain George Back, *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition* (Edmonton: M.C. Hurtig, 1970), 147. On Richardson's whereabouts see R.E. Johnson, "Richardson, Sir John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 658-59.

[77] Williams, "Appendix A," *Graham's Observations*, 348. As discussed in Chapters Five and Six, there is evidence that Hearne shared a reworked version of the Chipewyan attack upon the Inuit with Graham in the latter part of 1773 or early 1774.

CHAPTER 4:
SAMUEL HEARNE'S WRITING STYLE

A study of Hearne's orthographic and syntactic styles in the letters and journals contributes to a more complete understanding of Hearne's role in the production of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*.[1] The study has three aims: first, to describe eighteenth-century grammatical practices; second, to evaluate Hearne's writing preferences according to these practices; and third, to create a list of identifying characteristics typical of Hearne for use in ascertaining the degree to which the transcribed variants mirror Hearne's writing style. As there are items in the collection for every year of Hearne's employment it is feasible to trace these identifying characteristics over time; for example, it will be possible to state whether one of Hearne's spelling preferences lasted his entire career, or appeared/disappeared at a specific date. Employing this information in the subsequent examination of the transcribed narrative manuscripts assists with evaluating the accuracy of the transcription process. The presence in the transcribed variants of spellings never used by Hearne suggests editorial intrusion. Similarly, the combination of identifying characteristics with dates is useful information to date the particular version of Hearne's manuscript from which the variants were copied. This is but one of the ways the writing stages for Hearne's narrative can be established.[2] Though this very literary analysis seems far-removed from the historian's more traditional repertoire, I have employed it because it provides important information about the author associated with this particular primary source, *A Journey*. As demonstrated repeatedly throughout this dissertation, the most fruitful approach to answering a question is to use the tools best suited to revealing the answer, regardless of any disciplinary affiliation. In this case, such an approach helps to establish Hearne's writing preferences and style, and thus assists with my construction of the nature of Hearne's role as author of *A Journey*.

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[1] For the purpose of this study I define these grammatical terms in the following way: *orthography* = spelling and *syntax* = the relationship of words in a sentence, and punctuation.

[2] Other ways include using internal factual references, such as the date of a person's death or reference to a new book for which the publication date is known, and studying the history of a particular variant, such as when the transcriber would have had the opportunity to copy Hearne's narrative. These other methods are used in the chapters on the respective variants.

The Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) holds a large collection of letters and daily journals that are incontestably in Samuel Hearne's own handwriting, spanning a twenty-year period (1766-1787). A study of these documents reveals Hearne's writing characteristics, and allows the construction of reasonable statements about the degree to which Hearne is likely to have written the narrative as it appeared in print in 1795. Hearne's writing characteristics can be used in the analysis of the transcribed variants to help establish the degree to which the transcriber was faithful to Hearne's individual stylistic tendencies. Thus this collection of letters and journals in Hearne's handwriting represents a key to unlock the puzzling bibliographic story associated with Samuel Hearne's Coppermine River narrative.[3]

In total there are sixty-one documents containing examples of Hearne's hand in the HBCA. They range in length from a line to over 100 pages. The amount of writing, both in the number of documents and their length, combined with the span of time over which they were written, provides ample material from which to identify characteristics of Hearne's prose. I came to recognize Hearne's handwriting by relying on a number of writing characteristics typical of Hearne such as the use of "ə" for "e", a particular type of curl atop his "d"s, and the overall appearance of his writing, as demonstrated on the accompanying page in Figure Four. There are five journals in Hearne's hand and another six with only some of the entries in his hand.[4] The earliest journal derives from the summer of 1768 and the last one ends in the summer of 1787. In accordance with

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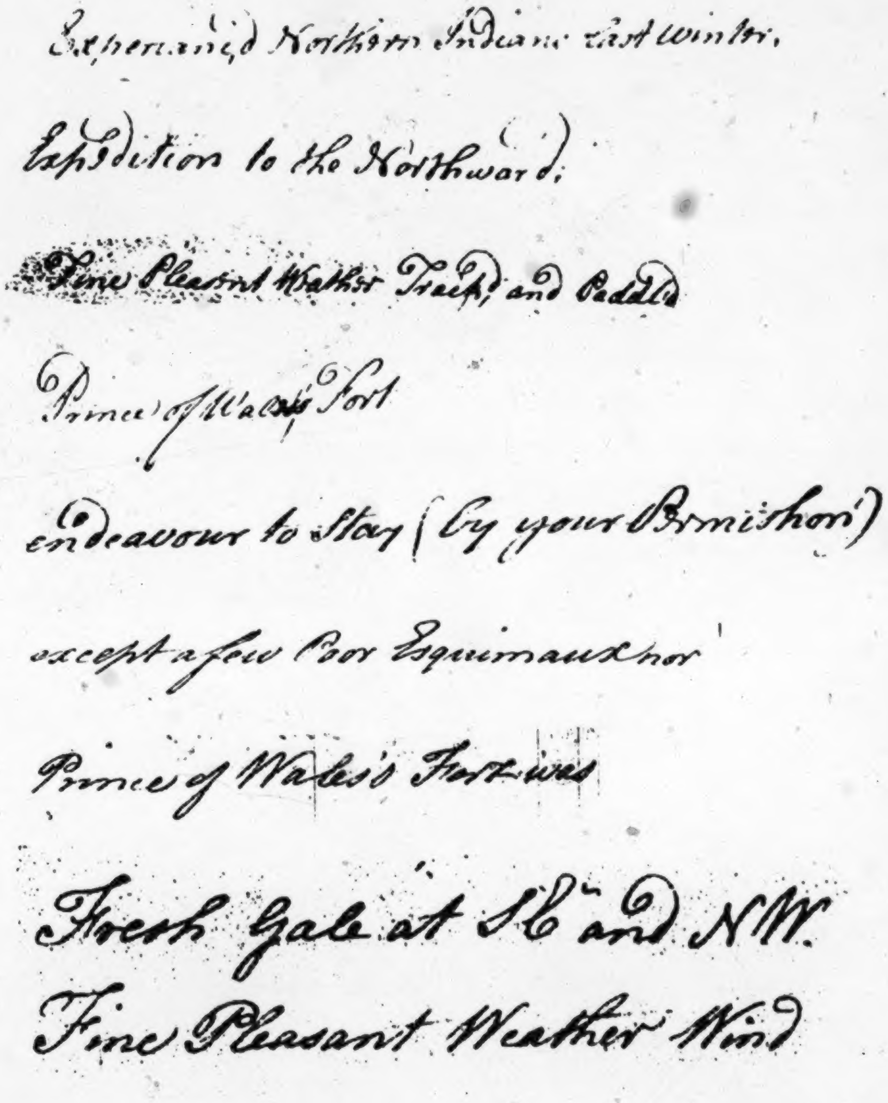
[3] See Appendix A: HBCA Documents Containing Samuel Hearne's Handwriting.

[4] The references for journals completely in Hearne's hand are as follows: B.42/a/73 fos. 2-2;1 B.49/a/1 fos. 1-32; B.49/a/2 fos. 1-19d; B.42/a/103 fos. 1-44d; B. 42/a/108 fos. 1-27d. The references for journals with only some entries in Hearne's hand are as follows: B.42/a/92 fo 46; B.42/a/94 fo 46; B.42/a/96 fo 48; B.42/a/98 fo 58; B.42/a/104 fos. 35d-36; B.42/a/106 fos. 22, 26, 26d, 28, 43-46d.

Figure 4: Samuel Hearne's Handwriting, 1768-87



1770 Experienc'd Northern Indians last Winter.

1772 Expedition to the Northward;

1774 Fine Pleasant Wather Track'd and Paddled

1776 Prince of Wales's Fort

1778 endeavour to Stay (by your Permission)

1781 except a few Poor Esquimaux nor

1784 Prince of Wales's Fort was

1786 Fresh Gale at SE and NW.

1787 Fine Pleasant Weather Wind

Note: These samples are suggestive of Hearne's handwriting. Notice the variability in the samples for 1774 and 1787, particularly the word "weather."

standard record keeping practices for sloop and inland journals, the journals Hearne sent to London for the *Speedwell* and establishment of Cumberland House are in his hand. Given these same policy practices it is somewhat surprising to find the appearance of his handwriting in parts of Churchill's post journals. However, the entries are uniformly at the end of the journal, which was when Hearne would have been checking journals and taking care of other paper work in preparation for putting the documents on board the fall ship to London. During this time he probably kept the journals in his quarters and found it easiest to make the entries in the London-bound copy himself. In only one of these journals does he add in corrections to the scribe's work aside from making his own entries for the last few days of the season. What is most unexpected is the fact that there are two complete Churchill post journals in his hand, as this task usually would have fallen to the post's writer. In the first case, the journal documents the 1783-84 season, which was the year after La Pérouse oversaw the destruction of Churchill. In the early fall of 1783 Hearne returned to the site with a small crew. Their primary task was to rebuild the fort and re-establish trading ties with their Cree and Chipewyan trading partners. Because of the nature of the work at hand and the fairly precarious living situation, the HBC chose to send labourers and craftsmen, not clerks and writers.[5] So it is not surprising that the journal appears solely in Hearne's hand. The following season the post's surgeon, John

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[5] Thirty-two men returned to Churchill. Using references to employee contract renewals and to specific employee's abilities I was able to discern most of the men's titles. These included: chief factor, sloop master, servant to the sloop master, second, surgeon, sawyer, carpenter, blacksmith's apprentice (the blacksmith didn't return), ostler (stableman - although no animals appear to have been sent over at this time), five men who were an unspecified mix of the sloop crew and harpooners, and 14 labourers. There is no indication that any of these employees were formally trained as cooks, tailors, armourers, masons, coopers, shipwrights, writers, or accountants, all of which were typical titles appearing in the post journal. The London Committee probably expected Hearne and Jefferson (the second) to look after the clerking tasks. See HBCA A.6/13 fos 78-79d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter from the London Committee to Samuel Hearne, - May 1783. References to the titles of employees listed as part of this year's contingent can be found in A.6/12 fo 137; A.6/13 fo 11; A.11/15 fos 43, 115d.

Toogood Hodges, voluntarily took on the added task of writer.[6] The London Committee continued to refrain from sending out a writer, choosing instead for their apprentices, first David Thompson and then George Charles, to relieve the surgeon periodically from this task.[7] Thus for the seasons of 1784-85 and 1785-86 documents written at Churchill appear in a number of hands, with Hodges' predominating. The surgeon retired from Rupert's Land in the fall of 1786, which likely explains why the Churchill post journal for 1786-87 is again in Hearne's hand, with the exception of the last page that was written in the hand of his former second-in-command and then successor, William Jefferson.[8]

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[6] Hodges had sent his offer home with the ship after it dropped off the men at the site of the destroyed fort in September 1783. As the London Committee did not send out a writer until Hodges' retirement, and there are Churchill documents which appear to match Hodges' hand, it appears that they accepted his offer. However, I did not make a study of Hodges' hand and therefore, while this supposition seems highly probable, I cannot be absolutely certain. See HBCA A.11/15 fo 97, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from John Toogood Hodges to the London Committee, 20 September 1783.

[7] The London Committee's plan for Thompson at Churchill included practice in writing, accounting, warehouse duty, and the occasional taking of astronomical observations. Thompson's description of the bleak existence at Churchill and Hearne's seeming uninterest in Thompson's intellectual stimulation should be seen in light of the harsh and somewhat desperate situation at Churchill for a number of years following the French attack. There would not have been much for Thompson to do in the above listed capacities. Clearly Churchill of 1784-85 was not the same beehive of activity nor comfortable establishment that existed prior to 1782, as was lamented by Hearne himelf: "Oh, Churchill, Churchill, how art thou fallen off thy former Grandeur." On Thompson see HBCA A.6/13 fo 105, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, Instructions for Samuel Hearne and Council, 19 May 1784. On their plan for George Charles see A.5/2 fo 130, London Correspondence Outwards - General, letter to Samuel Hearne, 4 May 1785; A.6/13 fo 133, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, Instructions for Samuel Hearne and Council, 4 May 1785. For Hearne's lament see HBCA B.42/b/28 fo 5, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Marten, York, no date (given the context of surrounding letters in the book this one was likely written around January 1786).

[8] It was not until the 1787-88 season that a full time writer was assigned to Churchill, but even then the new writer, Thomas Staynor, was to practice inland travel. See HBCA A.5/2 fo 170d, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter from the London Committee to William Jefferson, 23 May 1787; A.6/14 fo 18, London

Of the sixty-one documents in Hearne's hand, fifty-one are letters dating from 1766 to 1786. Eight letters are transcriptions by Hearne of correspondence addressed to him; of these letters, two appear in his Cumberland House journals and the rest in one of Churchill's correspondence books. Because the transcribed letters are not true representations of Hearne's literary style I eliminated them from the study of Hearne's writing preferences. There are examples of Hearne's handwriting in five of the general letters and three copies of these general letters,[9] all addressed during Hearne's tenure as chief factor. While the post's clerk or writer was usually responsible for the production of such letters, in these five cases Hearne added a few words after re-reading the general letter. Hearne addressed over half of the remaining letters directly to the London Committee. Instead of being copied into the correspondence book, these private letters were put directly into the London-bound document packet. The remaining letters consist of Hearne's addresses to other chief factors in Rupert's Land. This group of letters comes from the same correspondence book as the transcribed letters. Yet in terms of studies pertaining to the genesis of Hearne's Coppermine River narrative, scholars have overlooked, or at least underutilized, this vast resource.

The establishment of Hearne's writing preferences contributes directly to ascertaining Hearne's role in the production of *A Journey*. To date, many scholars have argued that because Hearne failed to demonstrate a writing style similar to that in *A Journey*, he could not have been primarily responsible for the 1795 published account. The main problem with their reasoning is that it is based upon a partial record of Hearne's writings. Furthermore, their selective use of these records is biased toward the early years of Hearne's career with the HBC and not necessarily during the various times he reworked the Coppermine River journals into the narrative account. The scholarly portrayal of Hearne's role in the production of *A Journey* is complicated further by the fact that

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Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, Instructions for Samuel Hearne and Council, 26 May 1787.

[9] This correspondence represents a general address from the post as compared to the usually more private matters covered in letters from individuals.

scholars have used different combinations of the records to evaluate Hearne's writing ability and each combination resulted in a different portrayal of Hearne as author. Furthermore, they have tended, with a few exceptions, to judge Hearne's abilities by twentieth-century grammatical and stylistic expectations, ignoring the fact that such expectations could differ during the eighteenth century.

J.B. Tyrrell, a geographer by profession but a prolific writer of Canadian history and the first to re-edit Hearne's narrative, considered only the 1795 published text and an eighteenth-century obituary about the explorer to determine Hearne's writing abilities. In 1911, he wrote that "[i]t is probable...that the MS. was published almost exactly as Hearne had written it."[10] It is when scholars began to use other versions of the narrative such as the Stowe Manuscript, which differed significantly from the text in the 1795 version, that doubts arose regarding Hearne's writing abilities and scholars began to search for the identity of the narrative's presumed ghost writer.

Historian Richard Glover, who produced the second modern edition of Hearne's narrative in 1958, was the first to compare the Stowe Manuscript to the 1795 published text. Because Glover believed that the Stowe Manuscript represented a transcription of the missing journal that described the third attempt, he used it to show the difference in content between Hearne's original notes and the final text. He also observed the difference between the rough writing style in the Stowe MS and the polished style in the 1795 edition. Consequently, Glover stated "the most important and easily the most surprising achievement of such a semi-literate man as Hearne was the writing of this book."[11] Ever since Glover publicized the existence of this long-forgotten document, scholars have questioned Hearne's role in the production of the published text. Over thirty years later John Moss still queried "[h]ow do we begin with the expeditionary report of a poorly educated adventurer and end up with a posthumously published Romantic exemplar?"[12] One of the more, if not the most, caustic evaluations of Hearne's abilities comes from Dermot McCarthy:

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[10] Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey to the Northern Ocean...* (1911), 19. Please remember that where I have cited the editor, I have made reference to that person's editorial comments; otherwise, I would have cited the composer of the main text.

[11] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey to the Northern Ocean...* (1958), xxviii.

> It [A Journey to the Northern Ocean...] is not remarkable for its literary merits, which are few; Hearne on the whole being a clumsy and humourless writer, with a meagre vocabulary and an unstinting inability to extend himself beyond his immediate sensory experience. It is remarkable *because* of his shortcomings; indeed, because he is so narrow-minded, so doggedly specific in his focus.[13]

In a previous study of Hearne's journals I also argued that someone other than Hearne was responsible for much of the content and style in *A Journey*.[14] Eventually Glover revised his assessment of Hearne.

Glover examined other documents by Hearne, such as his two Cumberland House journals, for the purpose of describing Hearne's writing style. Using Tyrrell's edition of the Cumberland House journals, Glover focused on Hearne's spelling. In a 1951 article he concluded first, that Hearne did not spell words consistently and second, that Hearne's spelling should not be judged by modern orthography but rather by late-eighteenth-century conventions. Yet, in this same article, there is little evidence he took into consideration the eighteenth-century's flexible and evolving practices for punctuation, contractions, and, in many cases, spelling. Later in his career, Glover maintained that Hearne, whose "spelling remained quaintly phonetic, his grammar erratic and his mathematics dubiously reliable,"[15] was certainly capable of producing the text much as it appeared in 1795: "[t]he first thing which may need to be said about it is that Hearne wrote it himself."[16] In fact he initially believed that the majority of the 1795 text represented Hearne's writing style from approximately 1774-76, the date range of the Cumberland journals: "Hearne's book...from the table of contents at the beginning to the very last chapter at the end, remains sprinkled with solecisms perpetrated in what the textual critic may hail as 'the best Cumberland House manner'."[17] Later, in the 1958 introduction to Hearne's narrative, Glover modified his assertion once again. Upon close study of the 1795 text, he believed that he had found numerous hints that Hearne continued to edit the text until just prior to his death in 1792. He pointed to these intratextual clues in footnotes scattered throughout his 1958 edition. Shifting from his original position, Glover eventually came to believe that some aspects of the 1795 text could be explained only by the intrusion of an unidentified person who polished, perhaps only minimally, the manuscript that Hearne submitted to his publishers: "[i]t is certain indeed that someone did make some corrections to Hearne's MS."[18]

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[12] John Moss, "Imagining the Arctic," *Arctic Circle* 1.5 (1991), 39.

[13] Dermot McCarthy, " 'Not Knowing Me from an Enemy'," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 16 (1979), 153.

[14] Heather Ann Rollason, "Studying Under the Influence" (1995).

[15] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), vii.

[16] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xxx.

Glover's study suggested that understanding the evolution of Hearne's narrative was more complicated than deciding whether Hearne or a ghost-writer was the author of the 1795 text. His editorial comments, peppered throughout the 1958 text, indicated that the narrative underwent constant editing over a twenty-year period and before being subjected to the pen belonging to *A Journey*'s eighteenth-century publishers. Yet Glover's efforts to distinguish Hearne's role in producing the 1795 text are hampered by the cursory study of Hearne's writing preferences. Analytically speaking, Glover's idea of looking at other items written by Hearne is valid, but he used a printed version of the Cumberland House journals, edited and transcribed by Tyrrell, rather than the originals in Hearne's hand located in the HBC's archives. Glover does not consider the presence of Tyrrell's conscious and/or unconscious editorial intrusions, something Glover himself admitted to be a distinct likelihood whenever the process of transcription was involved:

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[17] Glover, "A Note on John Richardson's 'Digression concerning Hearne's route'," *Canadian Historical Review* 32.3 (1951), 255-56. Surprisingly, Glover's hypothesis proves to be accurate, but not for the reasons he put forth (see Chapter Seven).

[18] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xxxi.

> Everyone who has had to copy English documents of a different orthography from that current among educated men today knows the extreme care needed to avoid unconsciously substituting the correct and familiar forms of words for erratic or obsolete spellings; the moment the copyist's attention flags, the corrections insert themselves.[19]

Unfortunately for Glover, his statement applies equally to Tyrrell's editorial efforts. For example, in comparing Hearne's handwritten version of the first Cumberland House journal in the HBCA to the Tyrrell edition, I found two instances where Tyrrell had incorrectly transcribed Hearne's spelling and nineteen differences in punctuation - from the first day's entry alone.[20] There is little doubt that similar differences persist throughout the two texts. Though these differences do not alter the context of Hearne's thoughts, they do contribute to making a description of Hearne's writing style preferences problematic.

Glover's decision to evaluate Hearne's writing abilities based solely upon the grammatical style of the Cumberland House journals was probably influenced by his efforts to find Hearne documents originating from the approximate time of the Coppermine journals. But if he had selected the *Speedwell* Sloop journal, which is also close in time, it is doubtful he would have claimed a great role for Hearne as this journal is even more rough stylistically than the Cumberland House ones. Studying the complete range of Hearne-authored documents, especially those in Hearne's hand, alleviates not only the problem of having to use transcribed documents to assess Hearne's literary preferences, it also has the potential of providing a more persuasive analysis of Hearne's writing characteristics over time.

Mary Hamilton's study falls victim to the same problems. She examined selected items in the HBCA's collection of Hearne's writing; she looked at the Cumberland House journals as well as a letter written by Hearne. She suggested that these items represented Hearne's writing characteristics around the time of his search for the Coppermine River.

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[19] Glover, "A Note...," 255.

[20] HBCA B.49/a/1 fo 2, Cumberland House Journal 1774-1775 vrs. Tyrrell, ed., *Journals of Hearne and Turnor* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), 97-98.

She concluded that the grammar and spelling in these documents was far from the polished style of the 1795 published narrative. So she disagreed with Glover that Hearne was largely responsible for the published text, writing, "it seems unlikely that the marked improvement in phraseology, spelling, and grammar which Hearne's *Journey* shows over both his Hudson's Bay Company Records and his Cumberland House *Journals*, is due entirely to his own efforts."[21] She provided no explanation of the methods or the criteria she employed to evaluate Hearne's writing preferences. Without this information one must question her results, particularly since she too relied upon the Tyrrell edition of the Cumberland House journals to establish patterns in Hearne's writing. It is not clear from her notes or bibliography what range of letters she used in her analysis. She mentions the series of general letters from Churchill to the London Committee, but these letters would carry the same limitations as the printed versions of the Cumberland House journals, for only the odd postscript and a few inserted lines from any one of these letters could possibly be in Hearne's hand. It is possible to identify only one of the letters she consulted for this study, based upon a quotation from her article; it was written by Hearne on 16 February 1770.[22] This letter is in Hearne's handwriting and to my knowledge has not been reproduced in its entirety elsewhere, making it likely Hamilton consulted the original document or a microfilmed copy. There is no evidence that Hamilton consulted letters written by Hearne much beyond the time of his Coppermine River journeys. Like Glover, she relied on documentation from the approximate time of the journeys and assumed that Hearne's writing preferences remained fixed for the duration of his life.

Ian MacLaren has written a considerable number of authoritative publications about the production of Canadian exploration narratives. His approach to Hearne's narrative differed from Glover and Hamilton; he focused upon identifying the process or stages of writing associated with the production of the 1795 text. Rather than looking at letters and journals by Hearne, MacLaren focused on exploring the relationship between surviving manuscript fragments of Hearne's narrative, such as the Stowe MS, and the excerpts in the published editons of Graham's *Observations* and Cook's *Voyages*. MacLaren believed that the writing characteristics of these transcribed excerpts demonstrated that Hearne could have written much of the text as it appeared in the 1795 publication. He challenged Glover's earlier conclusion that Hearne was semi-literate: "At least with respect to the massacre scene, this remark is both ungenerous...and too quick to credit [his editor/publisher] where it is perhaps undeserved."[23]

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[21] Mary Hamilton, "Samuel Hearne," *Profiles in Canadian Literature* (1982) 12.

[22] HBCA A.11/14 fo 140, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill. The text cited by Hamilton reads "they was not acquainted with the rhoade, and that they would not go any further with us - but seporated themselves and went different ways to provide for their families". See Hamilton, 12.

One of the problems with MacLaren's study derives from his use of the published version of Graham's text. Glyndwr Williams, the editor of the published version of Andrew Graham's *Observations*, took the Hearne excerpt from one of the later unpublished volumes of Graham's "Observations" resting in the HBCA. As will be explained in detail later in this dissertation, there are considerable differences among the Hearne excerpts in the different HBCA volumes written by Graham. However, the excerpt in Williams's edition is not necessarily indicative of what Graham initially received from Hearne. Nonetheless, all the versions of Hearne's narrative in Graham's volumes contain significant departures from the text in the Stowe and Grenville manuscripts. Thus, MacLaren's claim that the Graham version represents an intermediate stage of narrative development still holds, despite variations in the Hearne excerpt among the Graham volumes.

Both MacLaren and Glover used documents in addition to the transcriptions of the early journal and the 1795 edition to provide evidence of Hearne's editorial presence. All of the documents MacLaren used to study the production of the published narrative were representative of Hearne's writing long before he submitted a manuscript for publication in 1792. MacLaren did not examine the collection of Hearne's writings in the HBCA, which in fact support his contention that Hearne was capable of writing differently from the style that appears in the Stowe MS. In contrast to Glover's theory that someone merely polished the manuscript, MacLaren maintains that in the end "Hearne had help" with the narrative to make it appear as it did in 1795: "[i]ndeed, the book bears the marks of having been rather more assembled than written."[24] Clearly, the only way to resolve Hearne's role in the preparation of the 1795 text is to examine the full range of documents in Hearne's hand. The letters and journals in Hearne's handwriting provide ample source material for describing his writing preferences.

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[23] I.S. MacLaren, "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre at Bloody Fall," 39.

There are certain points relating to Hearne's writing preferences that can be derived from a preliminary reading of the HBCA's collection of his letters and journals. One of the biggest flaws in scholarly assumptions about Samuel Hearne's writing ability is the tendency to rely on his journals for evidence, almost to the complete exclusion of the letters. This is a significant oversight as there are some basic differences between these two sets of documents - differences which stem from their distinct purposes.

A serious problem arising from the HBC's practice of record duplication was the greatly enlarged amount of paper work reaching London. A careful reading of these records would have been an increasingly time-consuming activity for the governing London Committee. Therefore, it is not surprising to find evidence that in an effort to deal with the mass of records, the London Committee came to treat certain records differently, particularly letter correspondence and post journals. From the committee's perspective, one of the advantages of letters over post journals was that they succinctly described the key issues from the previous season. According to the minutes from meetings of the London Committee, particularly during Hearne's tenure of employment, they spent a very limited amount of time contemplating the contents of each journal. In fact, while there are periodic references to the committee addressing points raised in letters, there are no references to a similar use of post journals in the second half of the eighteenth century.[25] After the ships returned from Hudson Bay in the late fall, minutes from committee meetings indicate the opening and reading of each post's packet, which included the post journal, sloop journals, account books, correspondence books, private letters, and the official general letter, often all in the same meeting. And yet perusing the post packets was only one item on the committee's agenda. At a meeting on 19 October 1785, the minutes state that in that afternoon the committee not only opened and read the packets for both Churchill and York, they also reviewed the minutes from an August meeting; listened to the secretary's report on annuities; examined the petty-cash, general, and warehouse account books; and heard the governor's report on ship bounties and bonds.[26] No other references to the packet material appear until late April or May the following year when the committee focused on writing new sets of instructions and responding to the general and private letters. It may be that committee members shared out the responsibility for reading the complete post packets on their own time and then reported the highlights at the springtime meetings. This plan could explain the apparently short amount of time spent on the journals in the committee's minutes. Further evidence for this behaviour lies in the appearance of specific references to journal entries in the annual letter from the London Committee to a chief factor and council of a post. However, between the years 1739 and 1787, the London Committee referred to specific Churchill post journal entries in its general letters for only eight of the trading seasons.[27] Whether the ability to refer to specific journal entries was due either to reading outside of the meeting or to using letters as a guide, it would appear that during this time period the committee did not rely upon the journals to formulate policy or direct their chief factors' activities for the following season.

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[24] MacLaren, "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre...," 41. See also MacLaren, "Exploring Canadian Literature: Samuel Hearne and the Inuit Girl," 92.

This indirect evidence of the London Committee's use of journals stands in stark contrast to its treatment of letters to and from employees. It is reasonable to expect that chief factors, such as Samuel Hearne, would have chosen to include their reflections on their own past performances and on future policy recommendations in their letters rather than the post journals, where the information stood a good chance of being overlooked. Samuel Hearne would have realized within a season or two which type of document evoked a response from his superiors.

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[25] I searched through the Minutes of the London Committee for evidence that they read the post journals (HBCA A.1/41-50, *London Committee Minute Books* 1758-99).

[26] HBCA A.1/46 fo 58.

[27] HBCA A.6/8 fo 141d; A.6/9 fos. 12d, 62, 86d; A.6/10 fos. 60, 99, 117d; A.6/13 fo 163, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official.

Evidence of the London Committee's careful reading of letters from its employees is obtained from the committee's minutes from the London meetings and letters sent to Hudson Bay. There were periodic references in the minutes to points raised in letters from HBC employees; in contrast, the same references never resulted from stimulation by journal entries. For example, in a letter dated 12 September 1764, sloop master James Hester of Albany post revealed that the *Eastmain* had decayed to such a degree as to be no longer serviceable. As a result of his letter, not the post journal or the sloop journal, the London Committee decided to commission the building of a new boat.[28] The committee sent two types of letters to the posts, general letters of instructions outlining the season's directives and separate letters to individual employees, such as the chief factor and sometimes other members of the post's council. It is this second type of letter which proves the committee paid close attention to the contents of letters received from employees, for these letters contain direct responses to every point outlined in letters received from the posts. The London Committee's differing reading of journals versus letters is an important observation; it suggests that letters were the best way for a chief factor to communicate pertinent information and manufacture a desirable representation of himself to employers who knew him only by the words he placed on a page.

Hearne's tenure as chief factor coincided with a period when a diminishing number of furs was reaching the post. To compensate for this loss of income, the London Committee wanted Churchill employees to increase their efforts in the whaling industry. But factors such as war, disease, and the activities of the Canadian "pedlers" limited

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[28] HBCA A.1/42 fo illegible, London Minute Book, 27 November 1764.

Hearne's success.[29] Weather, poor equipment, lack of knowledge about whale behaviour, and accidents were responsible for the generally poor returns from the whaling industry. While Hearne sometimes commented on these difficulties in his daily entries for the post journal, he mainly used the journal to record the most important aspects of the day's events, such as the weather, the men's activities, and the occasion for trade, as well as any remarkable occurrences including sickness, criminal activity, expeditions, and news from other trading posts. The journal was meant to reflect the activities of the entire post rather than just Hearne's. He generally did not include details of his own activities except when he oversaw trade with Natives and the unloading of ships' cargos. Nor did he generally include his thoughts on the state of the HBC's trade, or on his personal ambition.[30] Chief factors used their letters to the London Committee to direct their superiors to the season's most important occurrences, be they problematic or advantageous. In other words, the letters were the chief factor's version of a selective finding aid to the journals. More importantly, these letters were Hearne's best - if not only - opportunity to style himself in a desirable manner for presentation to the company's most influential personnel. If Hearne wanted his employers to perceive him as a capable and intelligent individual, worthy of reward and advancement, then it makes sense he would have taken care to write legibly about his concerns in a clear, coherent, and logical manner. He did just that.

The main point here is to establish that Hearne's letters possessed a remarkably distinct writing style from his journals. Even in his earliest letters and journals this difference is apparent as demonstrated below by excerpts from a letter and then a journal:

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[29] The HBC referred to its Montreal based competitors as pedlers (spelled commonly by baymen also as pedlars and pedlors). In the eighteenth century this was a fairly derogatory description: a pedlar was "a petty trader" who travelled about the country selling "trifles". See Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755).

[30] One exception appears at the end of the second Cumberland House Journal where Hearne appended to the journal details about the necessity of designing a new canoe for inland transportation. See Cumberland House Journal, 1775, B.40/a/2 fos. 16-19d.

> Gentlemen
>
> by these few lines I mean to show my gratitude, and acknowlage the great obligation I now lye under to this good Company; and shall alway,^{s} endeavour to behave, in a manner becomeing one in my situation with diligence, and obediant to command, and shall with proper attention, endeavour to discharge any duties empos,d on me - or any thing that may be in my care with the greatest Fidelity.[31]

> The first part of this 24 hours fresh Gales and a thick fogg: with Raine the Wind Variable as before [at 5 PM: Weigh^{d} Anchor and Sail^{d} out of Marble harbour with a fresh Gale from the NBE in Comp:^{ny} with the Sloop:^{s} - Churchill & Success:] the Weather as before a thick fogg and Continual raine at 6: Marble Island Bore NNE 7: or 8: Miles[32]

The prose in his letters is far more polished than the rough, note-taking style characteristic of his journals. All of his journals, whether sloop, inland, or post, use simple direct language, organize information in the form of list-like phrases, and emphasize informative content over literary style. This pattern persists throughout Hearne's career with the HBC. Once again, witness the difference in style between excerpts from one of his last letters followed by a late journal entry:

> I am sorry to hear of the seizure of Furrs last year, as it was scarce possible for any one to be more strict than I was at that time. But as to my being deceived there is no wonder, for tho the Orkney men are the quietest servants, and the best adapted for this country that can be procured, yet they are the slyest set of men under the Sun; and their universal propensity to smuggling, and Clandestin dealing's of every kind, added to their Clannish attachment to each other, puts it out of the power of any one English man to detect them. and I am confident that nothing but inflicting the most rigorous penalty on those that sail in your ships (in case of discoveries of that kind) will ever put a stop to that banefull practice of illicit Trade, for as long as there are Receivers on board the Ships there will be theives and Smugglars in the Country, that will elude the strictest search

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[31] HBCA A.11/14 fo 52, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 20 August 1766.

[32] HBCA B.42/a/73 fo 17, *Speedwell* Sloop Journal 1768, entry for 18 August 1768.

> of your chief and all the officers.- [33]

> Wind at west with exceeding hot sultry weather. People employed much the Same as yesterday Received some Salmon from fishermen; Cook's employed Boiling and souseing [pickling] them for future use at Night a Strong gale at NW with Rain. in the Middle of the Night the fishermen came to the Factory with 36, more Salmon.[34]

Simply put, Hearne's journal writing style is not indicative of his full literary capabilities, as displayed in his letters particularly those produced toward the end of his career. I am not suggesting that Hearne was a literary master; he certainly made mistakes, some consistently. Rather, I am referring to Hearne's ability to use rhetoric effectively..

Much of the doubt surrounding Hearne's authorship of the 1795 text stems from what appears to be a flexible spelling style. According to Edward Carney, who performed an exhaustive study on the nature of spelling errors, people tend to make negative judgements about an individual based on these mistakes: "[s]pelling errors have social penalties. If you cannot spell you are thought to be uneducated and, by a further savage twist, unintelligent."[35] It may well be that many scholars have unfairly evaluated Hearne's eighteenth-century orthographic tendencies using their twentieth-century grammatical values. Carney believes that only those errors which compromise the author's intended meaning, such as substituting a similar sounding word for the intended word (lexical errors), and those which the author makes consistently (competence errors), deserve to be labelled as serious mistakes because they signify a problem with the author's understanding of the word. In contrast, Carney maintains that all other types of errors are incidental and unintentional; for example, falling into this category are performance errors, which are temporary lapses in otherwise accepted orthographic practice, such as adding an "e" to the end of "again". Carney refers to another type of mistake as casual or variant errors, which he defines as the substitution of a different spelling for the same sound: "broak" and "broke" would fit into this category. Analogy errors are those which violate a spelling practice, such as the rule stipulated in the school rhyme "i before e except after c." Also included in this category are splits, words in which a space has been inserted, and jumbling, which involves a reversal of syllables; Carney provides as examples "to gether" and "unindated" for each sub-group. The last category, articulation errors, pertains to those mistakes resulting from the author's pronunciation. He suggests that many spelling errors are the result of hearing a word more often than seeing it spelled.[36]

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[33] HBCA a.11/15 fos 126-126d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 17 August 1786.

[34] HBCA B.42/a/106 fo 43, Churchill Post Journal 1785-86, entry for 20 July 1786.

[35] Edward Carney, *A Survey of English Spelling* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 79.

Between the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries spelling of the English language underwent significant standardization. Changes continued into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but at a much slower pace. Unlike elsewhere in Europe, such as France and Italy, England lacked an academy for monitoring word use, managing spelling, and overseeing the development of the language.[37] According to Charles Barber, the creation in England of dictionaries like Nathan Bailey's (1721) and Samuel Johnson's (1755) and a great number of grammar books, along with a burgeoning publishing industry, helped to stabilize the written language, particularly by the second half of the eighteenth century. Barber suggested that "[w]hatever the authors of these works may have intended, the dictionaries and grammars were seized on as authorities: they were commonly regarded, not as records of usage, but as prescriptions for correct usage."[38] Nonetheless, Barber qualified the degree of standardization, indicating there was still considerable, and accepted, degree of variation in people's private writings. In order to establish the nature of the practices under which Hearne operated, I selected a number of eighteenth-century grammar and spelling texts. The reason I chose more than one was to ascertain the level of accepted variability in eighteenth-century grammatical practices. By examining these books, I hoped to avoid the trap of evaluating Hearne's writing preferences using twenty-first century standards.

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[36] Carney, 81-85.

[37] Carney, 467-68.

[38] Charles Barber, *The English Language: A Historical Introduction*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 203.

Thomas Tuite's *The Oxford Spelling Book*, published in 1726, is the earliest text of those I selected. According to editor R.C. Alston, it was notable because Tuite attempted to create rules of spelling based upon the sounds of words. It was the first spelling book to list words alphabetically rather than grouping them by the number of syllables. Tuite's methods likely had limited influence on general practices for only a small number of copies were printed.[39] John Owen's *The Youth's Instructor* was published in 1732, and like Tuite's book it had a small audience.[40] However, Owen preferred to group words by the number of syllables: the more traditional method. Though primarily a spelling book, it also contained a short section on grammatical rules, which mostly cohered with modern practices. Samuel Johnson's very popular dictionary, first published in 1753, listed words alphabetically and provided information on prefixes, suffixes, and derivative words, as well as verb conjugation where appropriate. Aside from the obvious orthographic component, the dictionary also contained a brief grammatical guide.

In contrast, the next two books were primarily grammar-oriented. R.C. Alston describes Robert Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) as "the most influential, and widely used text-book for the rudimentary instruction of English produced in the eighteenth century." It is, however, impossible for Hearne to have learned from this book as his formal schooling took place between 1750 and 1755. Nonetheless, Lowth's book provides a strong indication of what was deemed an acceptable writing style, if we accept Charles Barber's statement that the English public treated such books as prescriptive writing tools. The other book, *English Grammar* (1795), by Lindley Murray, is cited as being "without doubt the most popular and frequently printed grammar of English during the nineteenth century."[41] Although it entered the public realm after Hearne finished his writing career, Murray's book would have been built upon pre-existing concepts: it does not contain radical departures from other grammar texts. Thus, *English Grammar* is still useful as a tool to gauge eighteenth-century grammatical standards. Neither book contains a substantial list of words in the orthography section. The books varied somewhat in the rules for punctuation and identifying possession; more information on these differences will be revealed in the corresponding section of the analysis of Hearne's writing style. Before I proceed with the detailed analysis of his letters and journals, I will describe the set of writing tools with which Hearne was equipped upon his joining the HBC. This task sets the departure point for evaluating Hearne's abilities over time.

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[39] R.C. Alston, ed., "Editor's Note", *The Oxford Spelling Book*, by Thomas Tuite (Menston, The Scolar Press, 1967). There are only four copies known to exist.

[40] R.C. Alston, ed., "Editor's Note", *The Youth's Instructor*, by John Owen (Menston, The Scolar Press, 1967).

Samuel Hearne received about five years of formal schooling prior to joining the British Royal Navy at the age of eleven.[42] By this time it is likely he was able to read and write as it was during his years at sea that he progressed to learn the art of naval journal writing. When he applied to join the HBC in 1765 it was in part because of his literacy skills that he was hired and soon promoted.[43] The London Committee informed one of its captains that it had placed Hearne in charge of recording observations and keeping the ship's log because of the captain's unsatisfactory journal writing. Two years later, Hearne ran his own ship.[44]

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[41] R.C. Alston, ed., "Editor's Note", *A Short Introduction to English Grammar*, by Robert Lowth (Menston, The Scolar Press, 1967); R.C. Alston, ed., "Editor's Note", *English Grammar*, by Lindley Murray (Menston, The Scolar Press, 1967).

[42] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), vii.

[43] HBCA A.16/10 fo 125, Officers' and Servants' Ledger - Churchill; here Hearne is listed on the company payroll for 1765.

[44] HBCA A.5/1 fos 75-76, London Correspondence Book Outwards - General Series, Letter to Magnus Johnston from the London Committee, 27 May 1766. HBCA A.11/14 fos 93d-94, London Correspondence Book Inwards - from Churchill, Orders and Instructions for Mr. Samuel Hearne going Master's of the Speedwell, by Moses Norton,

The first surviving example that we can use to evaluate Hearne's level of writing competency is a letter he wrote to the London Committee in 1766 expressing his satisfaction in joining the HBC: "Gentlemen [indent and new line] by these few lines I mean to show my gratitude, and acknowlage the great obligation I now lye under to this good Company..."[45] Hearne writes legibly and communicates his thoughts clearly. The odd spelling "error" does not compromise the reader's ability to understand his ideas.[46] Apparently Hearne had learned the basic concepts of grammar and spelling during his school years in England. Literacy was an important part of Hearne's job with the HBC and opportunities to exercise his reading and writing skills occurred often. Once situated along Hudson Bay, Hearne read the correspondence by other fur traders and the London Committee, as well as a limited range of religious, nautical, natural science, and philosophical materials available in the bayside settlements. It is not clear how often or how closely he read these books; the only indication he may have read them at all comes from periodic references to them in his request for supplies, in the text of his 1795 published narrative, or from then-apprentice David Thompson's complaint that Hearne preferred preaching the philosophy of Voltaire over the Bible.[47] It is impossible to say

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20 July 1768.

[45] HBCA A.11./14 fo 52, London Correspondence Book Inwards - from Churchill, Letter to the London Committee from Samuel Hearne, 26 August 1766.

[46] By error I mean the spelling of those words that fail to adhere to modern conventions, such as "acknowlage" and "lye". However, whether Hearne spelled these words differently from what was printed in dictionaries such as Samuel Johnson's will be addressed later.

[47] During Hearne's tenure as chief factor at Churchill, he put in requests for one volume of "D^r Dodds Sermons", a bible, one large common prayer book, a total of 43 small common prayer books, and almost yearly requests for nautical almanacs. See HBCA A.24/18 fos 21d, 33d, 34d, 40d, 45, 50, 62d, 68, 82d, Invoice of Shipments to Hudson Bay - Churchill 1776-1783. Thompson remembered reading history books at Churchill and listening to Hearne on Voltaire. See David Thompson, *David Thompson's Narrative 1784-1812*, ed. Richard Glover (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962), 8, 19; Michael Payne and Gregory Thomas, "Literacy, Literature and Libraries in the Fur Trade," *The Beaver* 313.4 (Spring, 1983), 45.

how these books influenced his writing style. We know he wrote regularly by the extensive record of letters and journals in the HBC archives. There are no HBC records that dictionaries or grammar books were sent to the posts, so his initial writing style was based upon his understanding of the grammatical components he learned as a child and then perhaps was modified by his reading of the letters, journals, and books he encountered while living in Rupert's Land.

Hearne's syntax and spelling generally mirror the styles of other eighteenth-century HBC chief factors, although his descriptive abilities and effusive tendencies place him in a much smaller group with the likes of James Knight, James Isham, and Andrew Graham. Even letters from the London Committee, whose members presumably received a longer and more thorough education than many of their employees, frequently displayed variations in grammatical preferences, at least by modern standards: "Wee also Order you to send us Coppies of all those Journals, that have been kept by your self & others", "you also give us an account...that you were Informed by the Eskemows y^{t} there is A River by Ribyes Island that Runs by where the Copper is gott", and "You write us that y^{e} Copper Oar Lyes to y^{e} Northw:^{d} and Eastw:^{d} of Cary Swans Nest, it is our order that you Encourage y^{e} Eskamoor Indians to bring what Copper Oar they can..."[48] Among HBC employees, at least, Hearne must have been considered a good writer, for he could communicate his ideas clearly, describe events logically, and present a well thought-out argument.

Even those who were considered to be eighteenth-century writers of merit could demonstrate inconsistent grammar. David Hume, author of, among other things, the acclaimed *History of England*, committed what we would perceive to be innumerable spelling errors in his manuscripts and letters. Hume, like Hearne, could be characterized as an inconsistent speller, but twentieth-century scholars have not judged him as harshly.

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[48] HBCA A.6/4 fos 43d, 48d, 59d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official 1716-26, letters from the London Committee to Henry Kelsey, York Factory, 1 June 1720, 26 May 1721, and 24 May 1772. These extracts provide examples of errors in spelling, such as "coppies" and "oar" for "ore", in verb conjugation, as in "is gott", and in the use of punctuation to indicate separate independent clauses.

In a letter to his publisher, William Strahan,[49] Hume commented on Strahan's editorial changes with which he disapproved:

> I had once an Intention of changing the Orthography in some particulars: But on Reflection I find, that this new Method of Spelling (which is certainly the best and most conformable to Analogy) has been followed in the Quarto Volume of my philosophical Writings lately publishd; and therefore I think it will be better for you to continue the Spelling as it is.[50]

Hume was referring to a movement, later popularized in the United States by Noah Webster, to simplify spelling by removing silent letters.[51] Hume embraced this methodology whole-heartedly even though it ran contrary to popular English practices. In Hume's writings one finds the following words: tho', thro'-out, knowlege, spred, ardor, favor, rumor, coud, shoud, woud, advancd, proposd, and esteemd. These are but a selection. Though they appear as errors by modern English-Canadian conventions, once we know Hume's orthographic rationale it is more difficult to categorize them as mistakes, particularly those indicating a lesser intelligence or education. Nonetheless,

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[49] William was the father of Andrew, to whom Hearne submitted his Coppermine River narrative in 1792. The Strahan publishing house was the largest in London and attracted some of the most respected writers at the time, including Samuel Johnson, Adam Smith and Edward Gibbon. See Robert W. Burchfield, ed., "Editor's Preface," *A Dictionary of the English Language*, by Samuel Johnson, facsimile reprint of the original 1755 first edition (London: Times Books, 1979).

[50] Letter from David Hume to William Strahan, June or July 1758, as cited in *Letters of David Hume to William Strahan*, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), 27.

[51] Webster, an American, published in 1783 his *Spelling Book* , which was later followed by the first edition of his more renowned dictionary in 1828. His work was heavily influenced by the reformist spirit following the American Revolution. After gaining independence from Britain, Americans critically evaluated their inherited institutions, including language, to ascertain their true and original nature and to make them their own. Webster planned to reform orthographic conventions by eliminating silent letters, such as ile for isle, thum for thumb, public for publick, enquire for inquire, and favor for favour. Many of his ideas were seen as too controversial and thus rejected, but some have become accepted into modern American orthography. See Carney, *A Survey of Spelling*, 474-75.

Strahan adhered to the more conventional English orthography and despite Hume's disgruntlement continued to alter the manuscripts to reflect his own editorial and publishing preferences. Apparently Hume acquiesced, for in another letter he asked the respected London publisher, Andrew Millar, to inform Strahan to proceed with the latter's preferences: "to tell truth, I hate to be anyway particular in a trifle; and therefore...I should not be displeased if you [Millar] told him [Strahan] to follow the usual, that is, his own way of spelling throughout."[52] In contrast, those who have edited or studied Samuel Hearne's *Journey* have questioned Hearne's role in part because of what they perceive to be Hearne's spelling problems, or more generously, his flexible spelling style. The stereotype of Hearne as a nearly illiterate man seems particularly harsh considering the parallel tendencies of his fellow chief factors and in light of the more flexible grammatical standards present in the eighteenth century.

As I read through the collection of letters and journals in Hearne's hand, I kept detailed notes on different components of his writing style, specifically, aspects of orthography (spelling) and syntax (punctuation, subject-verb agreement).[53] To facilitate my ability to recheck the accuracy of the database, I listed the data for each document separately. In the process of going through these documents I only gradually decided what components I should study to best reflect Hearne's writing style and that would be useful in the study of the narrative variants. In order to apply the same level of scrutiny and thoroughness to the entire collection I felt it was necessary to repeat the examination. As well, in terms of the validity of the study I wanted to ensure the accuracy of my recording abilities: I did not want to make any transcription errors! Once I had collected the data, it remained for me to organize it in a meaningful way; thus, I began by separating the data in categories reflecting different grammatical components. I will begin by discussing Hearne's orthographic style.

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[52] Letter from David Hume to Andrew Millar, 20 June 1758, as cited in *Letters of David Hume to William Strahan*, 27.

[53] I did not begin reading Hearne's work with these elements in mind. This select group is the product of reflection upon areas with which Hearne's style stood out as different from my own understanding of what was acceptable.

The first thing that needs to be said is that I did not record the spelling of every single word that appeared in the collection of letters and journals. The words I noted in the spelling database were generally nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. I included proper names only if they had bearing on the subjective content of the Coppermine River narrative, such as the spelling for words like "Matonabbee" and "Esquimaux." The contents of the database are influenced inescapably by the tendency of my eye to be drawn to words that differed in spelling from the familiar present-day English Canadian conventions. One of the reasons I went through the collection twice was in the attempt to compensate for the possibility that the database over-represented words that Hearne spelled differently from my own practice, by also looking to record words that he spelled in agreement with current standard preferences. I believe that the resulting database reflects a fair representation of Hearne's orthographic tendencies during his two decades with the HBC.

I next arranged the words in a table using alphabetic order, the date of a word's appearance, and changes in spelling from the word's first appearance as organizing principles. Initially, a word's alphabetic placement in the table was based upon the spelling of its root in the *Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary.*[54] I aimed to keep related words in close proximity on the list, including different forms of a verb. Words sharing the same root, but appearing with prefixes or suffixes, or representing different forms of a verb, I entered separately and listed alphabetically below the root. I used modern spelling conventions, placed in square brackets after the word as Hearne first spelled it, as a tool to help locate related words in this very lengthy table. For example, it made sense to group Hearne's "sertin" and "uncertain" together to facilitate observations about changes to

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[54] *Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary*, eds., Joyce M. Hawkins and Robert Allen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). I decided to use modern spelling as an organizational guide for the table because I was not familiar enough with 18th-century preferences to be sure that I always placed words in the correct order and that I did not have words listed by different spellings in more than one place. Use of modern conventions here was not intended as a judgement of spellings but as an aid.

Hearne's spelling. If I had listed the words alphabetically exactly as they appeared then I expected I would have had difficulty in finding these obviously related words in the table. Using the modern conventional spelling of the root word "certain" permits these otherwise very differently spelled words to be listed close together on the table. As well, I noted modern spellings in square brackets to help clarify which word Hearne intended based on the context of the document from which it was taken. In some cases Hearne committed lexical errors by substituting a similar sounding word that carried a different meaning from his intention, such as with "assistance" and "assistants." He also made many performance errors, particularly the dropping of a seemingly silent letter, which could result in a different word altogether; for example, he wrote both "about" and "abut" (to border upon), while contextually he clearly meant to write "about" in both cases.

The column adjacent to a word denoted the years in which that particular spelling appeared in Hearne's writing. In cases where the spelling appeared more than once in a year the date is followed by an "r," signifying repetition. I found it useful to have some indication of frequency, which indicated that the spelling was not an anomaly, but I did not find it helpful to record the exact number of times in a year such a word appeared. This practice would have greatly increased the amount of time taken in creating spelling records from lengthy journals like the two Cumberland House ones, particularly if I had chosen to make notes on every appearance of regularly employed words like "fur" and "furr," "canoe" and "cannoe." For the purpose of establishing a general pattern of spelling preferences I believed it was necessary only to indicate that the word, as spelled, was typical of Hearne. Adjacent to the word as it first appeared, and the date(s) of its appearance(s), I inserted subsequent spellings of this word and associated dates. Thus in the same row one can trace Hearne's orthographic preferences for a specific word during his career with the HBC. Immediately below is an abridged excerpt from this first database, displaying the organizing principles as described.

Figure 5: Example of First Attempt at Working with the Data

Spelling at First Appearance	Date(s)	Alteration	Date(s)	Alteration	Date(s)
abated	1783				
ability,s [abilities]	1772	abilities	1784, 85		
ablest	1786				
disabled	1775				
unable	1786				
about	1774r, 75r, 77, 83r, 84r, 86r, 87r	bout	1775r	abut	1783
above	1774r, 87r				
abroad	1787r				
absence	1773, 74, 75r, 83r				
absent	1778, 86r, 87r				

The above example is instructive in a number of ways. It demonstrates the rationale for organizing the data according to modern conventional spelling in terms of being able to locate related words; "bout" as representative of "about" is a good example. It displays how I grouped families of words together using the root, such as with "account" and "able." It also shows the usefulness of taking note of frequency. For example, using "about" again, "abut" appeared only once compared to the many times Hearne wrote "about." This singular appearance of "abut" suggests that it was an anomaly, perhaps created as Hearne wrote in haste or was tired.

In total I produced 1720 entries, with each entry representing a word and its varied spellings: related words are counted as separate entries. Despite my efforts to simplify the organization of the spelling data by using the root of a word, the sheer number of entries in this initial table made summarizing Hearne's orthographic preferences into a few succinct observations a daunting task. I began by eliminating words which appeared only once and were unrelated to any other word in the database; for example, using the above excerpt from the original database, I would have deleted "abated." As this word appeared only once in the collection I could not reliably establish whether Hearne spelled it in this manner consistently or whether his preferences altered over time. However, in some other cases I maintained the word in the database, such as with "Matonabbee." Though unrelated to any other word and never changing in spelling, at least based on documents in Hearne's hand, "Matonabbee," an unusual word, is a potentially significant identifier for ascertaining the accuracy of the transcribed variants. In this manner I narrowed the database to 1251 entries. Even so, I needed to perform further distillation upon the abbreviated database in order to make sense of the types of changes.

Since it was the spelling of the root, in most cases, which exhibited change over time or orthographic tendencies peculiar to Hearne, there existed little justification to maintain separate entries for attachments to a root, as with "anamal" and "anamals." I blended entries related by root into one case, using square brackets to denote suffixes, prefixes, and other additions to the root; thus, the above example would be recorded as "anamal[s]," meaning that the word appeared in both singular and plural forms. Adjacent columns were reserved for noting changes to the spelling of the root and respective dates. Thus the three entries for "arise" (1773, 74, 87), "arrise" (1778), and "ariseing" (1772) became one case described as "arise[ing]" (1772, 73, 74, 87) and beside it in another column, "arrise" (1778).[55]

I then created a new column indicating the key characteristic(s) for each case, such as whether a case displayed conventional or variable spelling compared to entries printed in the eighteenth-century prescriptive literature. I also measured Hearne's spelling preferences in terms of their consistency over time. For example, I labelled a word "improved" if Hearne first wrote it in a form different from the eighteenth-century spellers and then, over time, altered the spelling to match the prescribed orthography. In cases where Hearne's spelling initially matched these eighteenth-century suggestions but then, over time, he changed the spelling to a form not found anywhere in this literature, I called these cases "degradations." I created a different label, "constant," for those words Hearne spelled the same way over time. I made a note of whether or not these words matched the spelling printed in the eighteenth-century guides. Words which Hearne spelled variously, displaying no clear preference over time, I described as "variable."

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[55] I addressed Hearne's particular preference to maintain the "e" before "ing" elsewhere.

To ensure that I was describing Hearne's spelling preferences according to eighteenth-century practices, I checked the spelling of all words in this latest form of the database against the 1755 edition of Samuel Johnson's dictionary, as well as the other books. There were numerous differences between eighteenth-century and twentieth-century spellings. For example, Hearne preferred the spelling of "caulk," which agrees with the 1991 edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*; yet, both Johnson and Tuite suggest "calk" as the appropriate spelling. Not one of the eighteenth-century books listed "caulk." Thus Hearne's spelling preference should be judged as an error if I want to measure his tendencies according to the practices of his time. Another example is Hearne's varied writing of "lightning" and "lightening." While the former is preferred today, during Hearne's time (at least according to Johnson) both spellings were acceptable. Tuite suggested that the "e" in the suffix "ed" was silent; therefore, it was preferable to use an apostrophe in its place or substitute the ending with a "t." For example, instead of writing "burned," he preferred "burn'd" or "burnt." After consulting these eighteenth-century sources, I recategorized twelve cases to reflect preferences during Hearne's time.[56] The next step involved separating the cases into related categories.

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[56] As it happened, not all differences resulted in a recategorization. The following is a complete list of spellings in the database judged acceptable according to the eighteenth-century dictionaries and grammar books I consulted, but considered incorrect by modern standards: accompany'd, behavior, compleat, cross['d,'t], dropt, dry['d, ed], inferiour, lay'd, lightening (a flash of light), rubbidge, shoal (shallow), smoak, and surprizing. Likewise, the spelling of "caulk" is perceived as incorrect by eighteenth-century standards, but as acceptable by modern English-Canadian standards.

There are two main categorical groups, one that assesses differences in spelling over time, and another that monitors specific orthographic tendencies such as the appearance of "eing." These groups account for 795 of the total number of cases. The remaining twenty-nine cases were anomalies that I kept in the database because, as a group, they highlighted some of Hearne's rather unique spelling preferences. For example, I maintained "striveing" within the database, though it appeared only once, because I believed this case would be useful in analyzing Hearne's tendency to use "eing." However, I have not included these twenty-nine cases in my assessment of the nature of change to Hearne's spelling because they do not exhibit either consistency or change over time; instead, I have used them in a later discussion to reflect on some of Hearne's spelling patterns. The goal of the following analysis is to identify general trends and to gauge the degree to which Hearne's spelling preferences matched the eighteenth-century prescriptive literature; it is not to list the orthographic minutiae found in the collection of documents in Hearne's handwriting. Each case by itself was not always definitive, but when grouped with other related cases general and distinct patterns emerged.

To begin, I will discuss those cases demonstrating change over time. About thirty-four percent of the database (266 of 795 cases) exhibited this movement, and subsequently these cases were divided into three categories: variability, degradation, and improvement. Thirty-three percent of the cases in this group displayed what could only be described as flexible movement and spellings; in other words, for these cases Hearne did not appear to favour one particular spelling over another and often moved back and forth between spellings listed and not listed in Johnson's dictionary. Cases typical of this category contained two or more variants to the root and demonstrated no clear movement in time toward preferring the accepted variant over unlisted ones: "channell" versus "channel" is a good example. Other cases in this category, such as "seller and "celler," displayed various spellings of the root, neither of which matched any eighteenth-century orthographic prescriptions. It was therefore impossible to categorize the change as an example of improvement or degradation. The case for variants of "cloths," as in apparel, is more complicated. There were three other variants, one of which was correct, but it appeared only once and in the same year as one of the other incorrect variants. Therefore it would be misleading to suggest that Hearne had decided on one way of spelling this particular word. An excerpt from the table for variable movement, including some of the above cases, is provided below.

Figure 6: Example of Cases of Variable Spelling in Form and Time

Spelling at First Appearance	Date(s)	Alteration(s)	Date(s)	Final Form	Date(s)
seller	1775r			celler	1784r
channell	1774, 78	channel	1778		
cloths (apparel)	1774	cloath['d, es, ing, s] choathing clothes	1774r, 81, 83r, 84r, 85, 87r 1783r 1787		

Another example of Hearne's flexible spelling tendencies consist of his varied writing of the root for "fitt[ed, ing]" and "fit[ed, ing]," both of which appeared simultaneously and consistently throughout the years 1768 to 1787. The same can be said of Hearne's use of "fur" and furr." Some cases exhibited almost random movement, such as with "mittins," appearing once in 1783 and 1786, "mittens" in 1784, and "mittons' also in 1784. There are simply too many changes in a short period of time, none appearing with overwhelming frequency, to conclude whether Hearne's spelling improved or deteriorated. In this category I also included cases in which the variant seemed to be a mistake, but recurred with such frequency that the apparent error had to be described as a rightful variant; for example, "last," which appeared repeatedly between 1775 and 1787, also regularly materialized in the form of "las" between these same years. Generally, this category presented good evidence that throughout the twenty year period with the HBC Hearne possessed a fair tendency to employ a flexible orthography.

There were enough cases in the database where Hearne's spelling appeared to move away from conventional practices to warrant a category that I labelled "degradation." It was comprised of just nine percent of the 266 cases that exhibited change over time. In one case Hearne initially wrote "agreeable" in 1770, shifted to "agrieable" for the years 1774-77, and settled on "[dis]agreable" for the term 1783 through 1786. Similarly, he began writing "pursue" in 1775, changed to "presue" later that year, and then favoured "persue" between the years 1786 and 1787. There are a few cases that fit in the category but contained only a lone appearance of the degraded variant, making it difficult to know whether Hearne produced the variant accidentally or deliberately. For example, Hearne wrote "purpose" throughout the years 1772 to 1783 and then switched to "purpouse" in 1784. The word did not appear after this point. I listed half of the degradation cases as weak, as in the case of "purpose." These degraded variants were mostly caused by slips: leaving out a letter as in one of the "m"s from "recommend[s]" or the "e" from "gone." The rest are best described as casual errors: the substitution of a similar sounding spelling as in "compair" for "compare." According to Edward Carney, none of these errors indicates a serious problem in spelling. Slips in particular can occur accidentally.

The next 154 cases demonstrated movement toward eighteenth-century orthographical standards. These cases represented the most conclusive evidence that Hearne made a conscious and deliberate effort to improve his writing. This group represents the greatest number of cases that exhibited change over time (58%).[57] As with other sets of words thus far discussed, some cases were stronger than others, but the sheer number of cases and the overall pattern suggests that the improvement was deliberate. The chief cause of weak cases derived from singular appearances of the word's final form, making it difficult to differentiate between the variant as an anomaly or true change in orthographic preference. For example Hearne repeatedly wrote "[un]necessaty" throughout 1774-84, but in 1786 he changed to "necessity." Although the change indicates improvement, it is impossible to know whether it was a permanent one. About one quarter of the improvement cases fit this description; however, many are stronger than they appear, because their spelling patterns are analogous to other cases.[58] For example, Hearne later dropped the "e" from words such "afforde," "loade," and "rhoade." Each one of these cases is weak by itself, but as a group they seem to indicate that Hearne deliberately decided to drop the "e." This pattern is strengthened when viewed alongside strong and similar cases, such as "againe," "remaine," and "withoute," where there are multiple examples of each spelling; Hearne clearly expressed a heightened tendency to drop the "e" as time progressed. A similar parallel exists between the singular appearances of the conventional spelling for "wett" and the multiple appearances of the accepted spelling for "packett" and "hott." In all cases Hearne eventually altered the double "t" to a singular "t."

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[57] I derived this figure using the following process: 158 cases I classified as "improvement" out of a total 266 cases exhibiting change over time (degradation, variability, and improvement) is equivalent to 57.8 %.

There were a small number of cases in the improvement category for which the variants' time periods overlapped, suggesting that, for a while at least, Hearne employed a flexible orthography. The case of the root "servise" provides a good example. Hearne used forms of this root from 1768 until 1783; however, beginning in 1769 he began to fluctuate between this form and the more conventional spelling, "service." He continued to use this latter form for the rest of his HBC career and long after he ceased employing the original spelling. Because Hearne eventually preferred "service," this case is classified as an example of improvement.[59]

Approximately sixty-six percent of the cases within this category displayed strong and clear evidence of improvement. The case describing the change from "patridges" (1774-75) to "partridges" (1783-87) demonstrates this type of improvement because of each variant's frequency and definitive time period. Hearne's intent, in this case, seems clear. It is impressive to note that of all the words that Hearne initially spelled differently from suggested practices (200 cases), by the end of his career he changed the spelling of approximately seventy-seven percent of these words to match contemporary preferences.[60]

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[58] There were forty-one cases exhibiting this characteristic.

[59] There are eleven cases that displayed some variablility among Hearne's preferences, before he eventually settled on one spelling.

It is decidedly difficult to ascertain whether there is a moment when the majority of cases in the category of improvement shifted toward eighteenth-century prescribed spellings. While there is a significant difference between Hearne's spelling tendencies in the late 1760s through the early 1770s, and his preferences in the 1780s, the ability to narrow accurately the range in time of the shift is problematic. Major clusters of improvement appear around 1774-75, again in 1783-84, and then once more in 1786-87. These periods coincide exactly with the two Cumberland House journals and two of the Churchill Post journals that appear in Hearne's handwriting. These documents are substantially longer and contain a greater range and frequency of words than the annual letters. In fact, out of a total 826 cases in the database (including the anomalies) all but forty-six had root variants that appeared during these years. Without doubt these particular documents heavily influenced the database. Removing them from the original database does not facilitate the identification of the moment when Hearne began to improve. The cases in the resultant database would not have produced the frequency necessary to make strong statements about change over time. In addition, I would have had to classify more of the cases as weak, meaning that it would have been impossible to discern whether the final form of the word represented an anomaly, or a deliberate and permanent change. All that I can say about this matter is that Hearne's orthographic preferences by the mid-1780s resembled contemporary prescribed practices far more than his initial style as it appeared in the late-1760s.

In the database, 495 cases did not change over time. Seventeen of these cases displayed two variant spellings that each appeared only once during the period of study, both of which appeared within the same year. Though these cases are variable in nature, because they did not change over time I felt they should not be in the category for varied spellings. Regardless, they comprise just two percent of the entire database, so this group of words would not have significantly affected the patterns described for the three other groups.

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[60] I added the 154 cases categorized as improvement, to the forty-six cases in the variable spelling category that Hearne had spelled initially in a manner not listed in Johnson's dictionary.

The remaining 478 cases displayed a consistent orthography. A few of these cases did display some minor variation that I determined to be negligible. Because the original form of the root appeared more frequently than the variant, I judged the latter to be an anomaly, an unintentional slip, and thus decided to maintain such cases in this category. These cases differed from weak degradations because the original form of the word appeared both prior and subsequent to the variant. It is also different from the cases I classified "variable" because the variants to the root, as first spelled, materialized very infrequently (usually just once), in comparison to the many appearances of the original spelling. For example, "trade[d]" appeared in Hearne's letters and journals regularly throughout the entire period of study. The variants "trad" and "drade" each appeared once during the 1770s. Because these singular manifestations were not the original or final form of the root, as happened in cases I described as weak improvements or deteriorations, it is easier to see them as what they most likely were - errors, anomalies. Furthermore, the overwhelming frequency of "trade" in the letters and journals strongly suggests Hearne preferred this form. However, since Hearne did produce alternate spellings to the root such cases cannot be used as foolproof indicators of editorial intrusion. I separated the cases of consistency into two tables, one for cases that followed eighteenth-century practices and the other for cases that did not. A significant number of words (seventy-nine percent) matched the prescribed spelling in the dictionaries and spellers of Hearne's time. The case of the root "compleat" is particularly of note because during Hearne's time the root could be spelled with or without the "a." Hearne consistently preferred to use "compleat[ed, ly, eing, ing]" (1768-87) and though this spelling is different from modern practices his choice does not indicate a mistake - rather an allowable preference.

Aside from analyzing Hearne's spelling of words over time, another way of considering Hearne's spelling preferences is to examine his ability to master the prescribed orthographic rules of the eighteenth-century. It is here that I discuss the twenty-nine anomalous cases, as well as selected cases from the database that appeared with greater frequency. Identifying Hearne's orthographic preferences could help to reveal the presence of the transcriber in any one of the versions of the Coppermine River narrative. The first group consists of words such as "perceive" where Hearne correctly places the "e" before the "i" in cases where it is immediately preceded by "c," a correct reversal of the standard practice to use "ie." Hearne successfully employed this method throughout his HBC career in the spelling of "conceive," "deceive," "perceive," "receipt," and "receive." Though he intially used "deceaved," by 1786 he employed "deceived" which was the prescribed spelling in the eighteenth-century dictionaries and spellers I consulted. In 1784, Hearne mistakenly wrote "recieve," a word he had otherwise spelled properly innumerable times. As well, he had mixed success with the spelling of "perceive," having written "unperceaved" in 1775, and the spelling of "receipt," which he also wrote as "receit" and "recept," but in none of these cases did he make the "cie" error. With only one error in a multitude of words, it is safe to say that Hearne consistently employed this practice. It may not be possible to infer that the odd appearance of a word demonstrating the incorrect use of "cie" in one of the transcribed manuscripts indicates editorial intrusion, but certainly repeated appearances would suggest as much.

The second category of cases exhibiting one of Hearne's orthographic idiosyncrasies involves verbs ending with "e" and possessing the suffix "ing." In most cases Hearne maintained the "e" resulting in the spelling of words such as "continueing." Words such as this, 86 in all, appeared regularly in his letters and journals from 1766 through to 1787. Perhaps as an indication of Hearne's strong tendency to associate "e" with "ing," in a few cases he added an "e" to a verb that did not have one, as in "grindeing," "stoweing," "compleateing," and "beareing." In the mid-seventies Hearne began to drop the "e;" however, over time he did so for only 37% of the cases and most of these were flexibly spelled. For example, he wrote varied spellings for "angleing" and "angling" in the same year (1775). Significantly, the greatest number of appearances of his proper use of "ing" coincides with the years of the Cumberland House journals of 1774-75, and the two Churchill post journals in his hand (1783-84 and 1786-87). Within these documents, there is not a significant difference in the frequency of Hearne's use of "ing" versus "eing." If these three documents are removed from the database, then there is a slight increase in Hearne's use of "ing," but only very slightly so. While Hearne maintained his tendency to spell words like "prepareing" (1774-86), it is also clear that he demonstrated a limited awareness that words should be spelled otherwise, such as "surprizing" (1786). The emergence of words spelled in this manner is too frequent to explain Hearne's use of "ing" without the "e" as repeated slips. Since the level of consistency in this group of words is low, it is difficult to use this preference of Hearne's to determine whether Hearne or the transcriber was responsible for the conventional use of "ing" in the Coppermine River manuscript excerpts. The only way this group could indicate the transcriber's presence would be through the complete absence of "eing," for Hearne never abandoned this tendency.[61]

Another one of Hearne's orthographic tendencies was his use of "ey" where it was otherwise standard practice, by eighteenth-century conventions, to write only "y;" for example, Hearne wrote "readey" and "leakey." There were twenty-four different words, many appearing repeatedly, that demonstrated this tendency in the collection of documents in Samuel Hearne's handwriting. By the time Hearne left the HBC he had dropped the "e" with the exception of "heavey" which he continued to write as such. As a group, Hearne's spelling of these words demonstrate that he eventually recognized that his prefered style did not match the prescribed practice.

I created another category to display some words that Hearne seemed to spell according to how he heard or spoke them. This practice is to be expected given the limited reading material available at most HBC forts during Hearne's time.[62] He missed the silent "d" in words like "adjacent and "adjust," wrote "w" for "u" before a vowel to produce "perswade," and substituted an "e" for "i" in words commencing with a long "e" sound resulting in "emmediately."[63] He seemed unsure of the intended vowel in certain suffixes, mixing "ave" and "ive," "ence" and "ance," "ent" and "ant." Many of the cases in this category are subject to this problem, such as "actave," "differant," and "obediance." Considering the similar sound made by the corresponding sets of suffixes this type of error is likely an articulation mistake: the result of hearing a word more frequently than seeing it spelled and therefore writing it much as one would say it. With one exception, these examples of articulative spelling did not compromise the meaning of Hearne's thoughts.[64]

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[61] See Chapter Five, specifically the discussion of the excerpts in Graham's "Observations," where only one of the versions (E.2/9) maintains Hearne's preference for "fireing."

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[62] The literature at HBC posts typically consisted of religious and nautical materials. According to the HBC's records, the following books were shipped to Churchill during Hearne's time: common prayer books, nautical almanacs, Bibles, and one volume of *D^r^ Dodds Sermons* (see HBCA A.24/18 fos 21d, 33d, 34d, 40d, 50, 62d, 68, 82d, Invoice of Shipments to Churchill 1776-83; note there are no records for the years 1783-87). Individuals could also develop their own collections to reflect their personal interests and tastes; for example, according to fellow fur trader David Thompson, Hearne owned a copy of Voltaire's Dictionary which Richard Glover believes could be a reference to Voltaire's *Dictionnaire Philosophique Portatif*, published in English in London, 1764. See *David Thompson's Narrative 1784-1812*, ed. and intro. Richard Glover (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1962), 8; Glover, "The Witness of David Thompson," *Canadian Historical Review* (1950), 32. As an aside it is interesting to note that Thompson's comment was intended to be derogatory. David Thompson was a very spiritual Christian. By the time he wrote his *Travels*, Voltaire, whose work was very popular in England during the eighteenth century, had become "demonised...as the prophet of atheism." See Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan history from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 21. For more on fur trader literature see Michael Angel, "Clio in the Wilderness: or everyday reading habits of the Honourable Company of Merchant Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay," *Manitoba Library Association Bulletin* 10.3 (1980): 14-19; Fiona Black, "Beyond Boundaries: Books in the Canadian Northwest." *Across Boundaries; The Culture and Commerce of the Book* (1998); Fiona Black, "Books by Express Canoe in the Canadian Northwest, 1750-1820." *The Bibliotheck, A Journal of Scottish Bibliography* 21 (1996): 12-33; Leslie Castling, "Peter Fidler's Books," *Manitoba Library Association Bulletin* 11.4 (1981): 47-48; Payne and Thomas, "Literacy," 44-53.

[63] I included the singular appearance of "gratuity" in this list to demonstrate that Hearne eventually learned that "u" could also make the "w" sound, as he also displayed with "persuasion."

Significantly, many of the words in this category appeared in Hearne's documents at the time he worked to establish Cumberland House, which is the same time period scholars have concentrated upon to characterize Hearne's writing style. They have focused on this period to typify his style not only at the time of his writing of the Coppermine River journals but also for the manuscript he submitted to his publishers many years later in 1792. However, as the evidence from this study indicates, Hearne's spelling preferences differed considerably by the end of his HBC career. Overall, Hearne displayed little consistency in his preferences for spelling this group of words; even though at some point he usually spelled one of these words according to eighteenth-century practices, he often reverted to his original articulative spelling. As a category, this group of words does not help to identify editorial intrusion in the manuscript versions of Hearne's narrative.

The last category of spelling cases consisted of proper nouns that appeared in Hearne's narrative. I had included them in the original database, regardless of whether the words changed over time, because they could be used to identify the accuracy of transcription in the narrative versions and pinpoint the date of the version upon which the transcription was based. For most of the cases comprising this category the low frequency of a word and its variant made it difficult to eliminate the possibility of the variant being an anomaly and therefore made it difficult to come to a reasonable conclusion about Hearne's tendencies. There was one exception. In 1768 Hearne wrote "esquemays," then altered it to "eskemaux" in 1772 and "eskamaux" in 1774, and fixed on "esquimaux" between 1781 and 1787. In theory, his original journal describing the encounter with the Inuit at Bloody Falls should have the word written as "eskemaux" and his later editorial attempts, particularly those after his meeting with La Pérouse and certainly the manuscript he submitted to his publishers, should have the word spelled as "esquimaux."

Though the strength of each case, and indeed each category, varied, the analysis of

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[64] When Hearne wrote "confidant" he intended to describe a feeling rather than a person in whom he confided; however, the rest of the sentence clarifies his desired meaning.

Hearne's spelling in general produces two significant observations. First, Hearne spelled the majority of words consistently and according to eighteenth-century practices. Second, of those words Hearne began by spelling differently from contemporary prescriptive orthography, over time he altered a great number of them to align with these practices. By the end of his HBC career, seventy-seven percent of the words written in Hearne's hand are spelled according to the prescribed orthography of eighteenth-century spellers and dictionaries. Certainly this study demonstrates that the description of him as "semi-literate" is unjust. These observations challenge what many scholars have presumed about Hearne's spelling capability.

It is understandable how scholars came to their conclusions about Hearne. If one only looked at Hearne's letters and journals pre-dating the late 1770s, then many of the orthographic tendencies typifying his writing, such as the presence of "eing," the mixed use of "i" and e" at the beginning of words (as in "enform.d"), and the appearance of articulative spelling would predominate. However, if one examines his last letters and journals then many of these tendencies disappear or are minimized, although some variability remains. Furthermore, it seems that scholars have used their own spelling standards to evaluate Hearne's capabilities, for in fact Hearne spelled the majority of words according to the practices of his time.

Other aspects of Hearne's writing were more consistent during his twenty-year career with the HBC. With regard to syntax, Hearne had varied success in portraying the correct relationship between the subject and verb in a sentence. His difficulties may have stemmed from his frequent tendency to insert other phrases between the subject and verb; for example, in 1775 he wrote: "no man but the Pataroons are allowd..."[65] Here, Hearne is unsure whether the verb should agree with the main subject, "man," or "Pataroons." Likewise, a similar problem appears when he wrote "all the Provisions we carried with us was expended..." [66] in an earlier letter; however, regardless of with what Hearne believed the verb agreed (provisions, we, or us), the error remained. Even when the subject and verb were closely situated, mistakes still occurred. In the *Speedwell* Sloop journal Hearne wrote in the same entry first, "self and People was detain.d," and then the correct "self and People went on board."[67] These types of errors could still be found in his letters and journals from the 1780s, although arguably with less frequency and intermixed with the increasing presence of the correct subject-verb agreement.

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[65] HBCA B. 49/a/2 fo 17d, Cumberland House Journal 1775.

Hearne's application of punctuation marks is highly variable and at first confusing. There was a degree of flexibility during the eighteenth century as to the uses of certain marks. Once this fact is taken into consideration, Hearne's use of punctuation cannot be used to question his ability to write. For the most part, he employed punctuation marks in accordance with the practices of his time. According to Tuite, author of *The Spelling Book* (1726), the application of commas, semi-colons, colons, and periods derived from the length of pause one desired between phrases, with commas possessing the shortest pause and periods representing a complete stop. All of these marks could be used to separate sentences, and other than denoting the length of pause, there was no rule to guide their usage. Apostrophes were used to indicate abbreviations, especially in place of the silent "e" in the ending "ed," as in "jump'd."[68] In the very popular *English Grammar* (1762), author Robert Lowth suggested that "the doctrine of Punctuation must needs be very imperfect: few precise rules can be given...much must be left to the judgement and taste of the writer." His guidelines for punctuating phrases and sentences mirrored those of Tuite.[69] Along these lines, Samuel Hearne incorporated these different marks to separate phrases and sentences. He also often employed a dash to signal the end of a paragraph. While his use of punctuation may not cohere with modern conventions, he did successfully use the marks to keep key ideas together; for example, the two letter and two journal excerpts presented earlier in this chapter indicate his general tendencies. Hearne showed no preference for a particular mark to signal contractions, using commas, colons, periods, and apostrophes, as in “furnish,d,” “Comp:^{ny},” “experianc.d,” and “determin’d.” Thus, Hearne’s use of the apostrophe, as in the repeated appearance of “Nativ’s” in 1781, would mostly likely have been perceived as acceptable. Given eighteenth-century conventions, it is difficult to categorize this pattern of punctuating contractions as detrimental to his writing style. Yet in spite of the flexibility espoused by grammarians at this time, some aspects of Hearne’s punctuation can only be described as problematic. The chief misuse involved his employment of commas to indicate the plural form of a word, as in “dog,s.” Nowhere in any of the eighteenth-century grammar and spelling books did the comma fulfill this function. When this pattern is viewed in conjunction with Hearne’s method for indicating possession, the clarity of his message at times was compromised.

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[66] HBCA A.11/14 fo 140, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 16 February 1770.

[67] HBCA B.42/a/73 fo 3d, Speedwell Sloop Journal, 17 July 1768.

[68] Tuite, 117-18.

[69] Lowth, 155, 156.

Hearne applied a highly variable and typically incorrect method for indicating possession, even by eighteenth-century standards. Some of Hearne’s apparently muddled methodology can be explained by the contradictory guidelines presented in the contemporary texts I consulted. Beyond suggesting that an apostrophe followed by “s” identifies possession not plural status, Tuite provides no other guidelines on this matter, such as how to suggest plural possession.[70] Samuel Johnson suggested that plurals should never indicate possession using an apostrophe and “s,” otherwise, his guidelines follow Tuite’s. Lowth, like Johnson, claimed that nouns in the plural form did not require an apostrophe or “s;” as an example he provided “on eagles wings.” Lindley Murray, whose 1798 book set the standard for the rapidly approaching nineteenth century, laid out rules that correspond with modern Canadian practices. The flexibility for indicating possession cannot, however, support all of Hearne’s variable punctuation. He often used commas, and sometimes periods, instead of the standard apostrophe to indicate singular possession, as in "Mr Forbersher.s crew." Furthermore, he alternately left out any punctuation of plural (your honours trade) or singular (rivers mouth) possession. When this practice is seen alongside his other tendencies of using commas to indicate the plural form of words (your Honour,^{s}) and to signal contractions (arriv,d), then the possibility is introduced of confusion in Hearne's intended meaning. He never developed any consistency in how he indicated possession, and the odd appearance of the correct practice seems almost happenstance. As a result, one must rely on the surrounding context to deduce his intentions.

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[70] Tuite, 120-21.

As for verb conjugation, perhaps Hearne's most obvious error was his invention of "ware" as the past tense of singular and plural forms of the verb "to be" (was and were). This form of the verb did not appear in any of the eighteenth-century spelling or grammar texts I consulted. He also uniformly employed "ben" for "been." These two errors could be derived from his particular pattern of speech, or articulation. In both cases, by the mid-1780s Hearne had switched to the correct forms, at a time which, not surprisingly, corresponds with the same time frame for his orthographical improvement.[71] Aside from these areas, Hearne displayed every indication that he understood verb conjugation conventions.

Given this analysis of Hearne's grammatical tendencies, I can now state with reasonable certainty what his writing style would have been like in the missing Coppermine River journals, his intermediate stages of his narrative, and the final manuscript he submitted to his publisher. The style of the journals Hearne took with him on the three journeys would have mimicked the rough note-taking style such as found in Hearne's *Speedwell* journal, written only one year prior to Hearne's first attempt to reach the mines, or the two Cumberland House journals, written two and three years after the journey. Many words would have been in abbreviated form and the punctuation would have been highly erratic. His thoughts would have been organized like a list, with the connections between them not always readily apparent. Rarely would he have provided an opinion or an expansive description. It would have been unusual to separate thoughts into paragraphs. It is best to think of this journal as a mnemonic tool.

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[71] "Ware" ceased to appear after 1784, and "ben" after 1783.

During the ensuing years, when Hearne took time to rework his journal, he would have been able to extend the notes into more organized passages. For these intermediate stages of narrative development Hearne would have relied upon the literary style more typical of his letters. These stages would contain grammatical improvements over his initial journals, but the nature of these changes would have depended on the time he worked on the revisions. Analysis of the HBCA's collection of letters and journals in Hearne's handwriting proves that Hearne possessed the ability to edit and to improve his own work.

Because there is not even a transcribed version of the manuscript he submitted for publication, I have chosen to base my expectations of his style, in his final form of the Coppermine River narrative, as it existed at the end of his career. In his last attempt to record his experiences in the fur trade, there would have been a few spelling errors, but nothing that would have compromised his intended meaning. It is also probable that he would have continued to spell those words that he had spelled consistently throughout his twenty years in Rupert's Land. It is likely there would have been numerous problematic appearances of the comma used as a mark to indicate the plural and possessive state. His text would have been well-organized, keeping thoughts together in cohesive units (paragraphs). His letters, rather than the journals, display his organizational and story-telling capabilities.

Thus, when publisher Andrew Strahan received Hearne's manuscript it is highly unlikely he had to make substantial alterations to the text to conform with acceptable literary practices characteristic of this time. Strahan probably corrected Hearne's comma troubles and ensured that that former fur trader identified possession correctly. He presumably revised persisting spelling errors, as in "contarary," and may have amended other orthographic tendencies to match the publisher's house style.[72] It remains to be established whether Strahan altered other aspects of Hearne's travel epic, such as the narrative structure.

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[72] It is known that Andrew's father and teacher, William Strahan, preferred British over American style orthography, as described in the experience of David Hume. Most

This study of Hearne's writing style has produced some new revelations and a number of valuable guidelines for determining Hearne's role in the preparation of the 1795 text of his Coppermine River journey. The writing style typical of his letters and journals differed substantially: a point that scholars previously had overlooked. As well, contrary to the scholarly assumption that Hearne's writing style remained fixed at the level displayed in his Cumberland House journals, he demonstrated the ability to improve certain aspects of his grammar, particularly his orthography. Based on these observations, we can use the stylistic patterns derived from Hearne's letters and journals to help discern the degree of transcriptive intrusion in the surviving copied manuscripts, and the level of editorial intrusion in the 1795 published text.

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likely Andrew followed his father's example. Therefore, as Hearne's spelling was learned and modified before these differences became firmly entrenched, his work contains a mixture of practices. Strahan may have altered these words to conform with the British preferences. There may also be other aspects of the house style which called for further changes; for example, a cursory examination of the published text indicates that Strahan expanded most contractions, so that "cloth'd" became "clothed" and "Northw:d" became "Northward".

CHAPTER 5

STEP BY STEP: TRACING THE WRITING PROCESS FOR THE COPPERMINE RIVER NARRATIVE USING SURVIVING MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EXCERPTS

There are nine excerpts from different stages of the Coppermine River narrative that pre-date the publication of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* (1795). They range in length from a few lines to over ninety pages. In this chapter I apply selected methods and theories from the practice of bibliography in order to glean information about how these documents are related to one another and to *A Journey*. I will also attempt to illuminate the degree to which transcribers and editors have altered the versions from Hearne's original compositions. By the end of this chapter I will have produced a textual outline of how Hearne shaped his account over time.

The purpose of bibliography is to provide the requisite background information in order to enable informed textual criticism.[1] Respected bibliographer Fredson Bowers described why scholars have relied upon this discipline:

> The use of bibliography arises largely from the fact that a book seldom supplies us with all that should be known about itself. The transference of an author's words into print gives opportunity for various accidents...the circumstances and fortunes of books before, at, and after publication, vary enormously. So, too, the text of manuscripts exposed to special dangers at the hands of copyists, as every critical scholar knows.[2]

According to D.F. McKenzie, bibliography is a discipline that has evolved from the practice that focused on describing and editing books. This type of bibliography typically included a summary of the author's life as it related to the text, a description of the relationship between editions of the text and of the order of the editions, an evaluation of how closely the author's manuscript matched the published edition, and the selection of a manuscript or edition as the ideal copy. Unlike the stance espoused by post-structuralists, like Michel Foucault, Edward Said, and James Clifford, that authorial role had limited relevance to understanding the messages in a text, bibliographers tend to treat the author's involvement in the text as central to this same understanding.[3] Currently, scholars of bibliography are interested in answering an even broader range of questions that address the genesis of the text, the impact of publishing, and the audience's response to the text. McKenzie defines the current application of bibliography as a "discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, and the processes of their transformation, including their production and reception."[4] He suggests that bibliography studies should include the exploration of the author's motives for writing and revising text, the publisher's motives in reshaping and producing the book, and the audience's motives for purchasing and reading the book.[5]

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[1] F. Bowers explains it as follows: "true bibliography is the bridge to the textual, which is to say literary criticism. Before a critic can attempt a definitive evaluation of the contents of any book he must be in possession of every fact which has any bearing on the history of its text." See F. Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographic Description*, St Paul's Bibliographies, no. 15 (Winchester, UK: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1986), 9.

[2] Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographic Description* (1986), 9.

Bibliographers have developed a variety of interpretive strategies aimed at revealing the production history of a text. One of the earliest approaches was developed by classical scholars who were interested finding a way to recover lost original works. They attempted to do so by collating all relevant versions of a text in hopes of producing an historical outline of the textual transformations. They referred to this family tree of internal textual relationships as a textual stemma. They believed that by identifying patterns of change in different editions they could deduce what the original manuscript would have looked like.[6] However, classical texts were not affected by publishing, at least when they were originally produced. Publishing began to be a significant component of the writing process for books produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In order to understand how publishing shaped the text, bibliographer Fredson Bowers promoted the concept of the ideal or critical text. According to Bowers, this version of the text represented the author's preferences before the publisher inserted changes.[7] Modern bibliographic methods are rooted in Bower's idea of the critical text. In the 1950s, W.W. Greg questioned Bower's reliance upon authorial intention alone to decide what version of a manuscript best represented the literary work. Instead, Greg believed that the fixed or final form of the text as it appeared in the first published edition was the ideal text, and he referred to this version as the copy-text.[8] Bibliographer G. Thomas Tanselle made the following remark concerning the path of the resulting debate:

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[3] See the Introduction, page 2.

[4] D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 12. For older traditional definitions of bibliography see F. Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographic Description* (1986), vii, 9; and W.W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Sir Walter Wilson Greg: A Collection of His Writings*, ed. Joseph Rosenblum, The Great Bibliographers Series, no. 11 (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 1998), 213-28 .

[5] McKenzie, 13.

[6] Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 23, 24. This approach of relying upon textual stemma to understand a book's history is also known as genealogical criticism or the Lachmann

> [t]he history of textual criticism and editing is really the history of shifting attitudes toward the role of human judgement in bringing present-day readers in touch with the past. The essential dilemma is whether to offer readers what is known to have come from some point in the past, even though the editor can often be relatively sure (and sometimes certain) that

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method, after bibliographer Karl Lachmann. He believed that a systematic analysis of changes to the text would increase scholars' objectivity in their assessment of related texts. See McGann 15; and G. Thomas Tansell, "The Varieties of Scholarly Editing," *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. D.C. Greetham (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1995), 19. Some bibliographers chose to interpret Lachmann's approach strictly by developing mathematical formulas that evaluated patterns of change between texts and assessed the relationship between textual fragments. The popularity of this approach was linked to the emergence of the computer as a problem-solving tool, but the methodology was complicated and did not capture wide interest. See Vinton Dearing, *Principles and Practice of Textual Analysis* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1974); Tanselle, 20.

[7] McGann, 19.

[8] Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *A Collection of His Writings* (1998), 213 ; McGann, 29; Tanselle, 21, 22. Greg's article was originally published in *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950-51): 19-36. The details of the debate will not be repeated here. For further reflections on this debate consult Philip Gaskell, *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 3-6; McGann, 31; James Thorpe, *Principles of Textual Criticism* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1972), 109, 124, 125.

> it is inaccurate, or to present a text as faithful to the author's intention as the editor's evaluation of the evidence and literary insight can make it, even though such a text is necessarily a product of sensibility.[9]

It seems that a theoretical resolution is not likely; rather, the particulars of each literary work and the nature of a scholar's questions will dictate which methods should be used. At this point it is useful to turn to a body of literature that has developed from the study of Canadian exploration narratives; the methods devised by these scholars follow general bibliographic principles, but are suited to the particular problems typical of published travelogues.

Ian MacLaren wrote a series of articles in which he explored the production of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Canadian exploration narratives, such as those belonging to Paul Kane, David Thompson, Samuel Hearne, and Captain James Cook.[10] He suggested that these narratives underwent four stages of transformation, although there could be differences specific to the conditions of a particular narrative. All of these narratives were first written in the form of a journal, log-book, or field notes. These texts are written in the present tense and are stylistically rough, with little attention paid to spelling, grammar, or punctuation. They are created during the traveller's journey and usually contain daily entries. Many travel narratives next appear in the form of a report. In the case of Hearne and Cook they had to submit their findings to their superiors. In this version the writer may have condensed some routine material while elaborating upon crucial events or findings. As well, he tended to alter some passages to reflect the past tense. According to MacLaren, the crucial difference between these stages was that by the second stage, the writer knew that the text was no longer just a mnemonic device, but that it would now have readers. Next, for reasons particular to each case, the explorer decided to share his experiences with the public. Again, MacLaren feels that the change in audience shaped the changes to the narrative. It is at this stage that the information was rearranged to create a story, complete with a beginning, climax, and ending. The narrative now portrayed a purpose and carried a message. The writer, who at this point might no longer be the explorer, heavily edited the work, condensing or deleting information that did not help to build the plot and adding information that may have derived from the explorer's further reflections or may have been the product of the writer's imagination. The last stage involved publishing the manuscript. Here the narrative was subjected to the stylistic expectations of the publisher, which typically involved further editing and polishing.[11]

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[9] Tanselle, 16.

[10] Ian S. MacLaren, "Exploration / Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," 39-68; "The Metamorphosis of Travellers into Authors: The Case of Paul Kane," *Critical Issues in Editing Exploration Texts*, ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey* from a Bibliographical Perspective,"21-45; "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre at Bloody Fall, 17 July 1771," 25-51.

In the case of the Coppermine River narrative it is arguable that there are two additional stages. It is necessary to differentiate between the multiple drafts and the version Hearne himself believed to best represent his intentions for the narrative, which was the manuscript he submitted for publication. It is also important to realize that even after the appearance of *A Journey* in 1795, changes continued to be made to the text. MacLaren has described how later editions of *A Journey* included corrected errata even though the publishers listed these texts as facsimile reprints.[12] Thus, in the case of the Coppermine River narrative, the six stages are as follows: journal, report (which would include the documents I referred to as the fair copy earlier in the thesis), draft manuscripts, manuscript submitted for publication, published first edition by Strahan and Cadell in 1795, and lastly other editions. In this thesis I trace the evolution of the narrative through to the fifth stage.

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[11] MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature," 41-42; "Samuel Hearne's Accounts," 25, 28-32. MacLaren used slightly different nomenclature to describe the stages in these two articles. In "Exploration" he described the stages as field note or log book, journal, draft manuscript, and published narrative, whereas in "Accounts" he listed the stages as field note or log book or journal, then report, draft manuscript, and published narrative.

[12] MacLaren, "Notes on Samuel Hearne's Journey,"25-32. MacLaren and I have discussed the validity of incorporating these additional stages in a conversation we had just prior to my candidacy exam at the University of Alberta in the fall of 1996.

Because my intention is to outline how the narrative changed over time, eventually becoming *A Journey*, it makes the most sense to start the analysis with the narrative version(s) that represent the narrative in its earliest form and then to proceed with the other versions in the order of the different stages, as suggested by MacLaren. This type of evolutionary analysis is formally known as genetic criticism.[13] It is a flexible strategy in which it is expected that methods will be created and adapted to fit the subject matter. Typically practioners of this approach examine the writing process leading to the published form of the text.[14]

Though rarely formally acknowledged as such, genetic criticism has been the preferred approach among scholars working on Canadian exploration narratives.[15] MacLaren's stages theory certainly belongs under this heading. Notably, William E. Moreau explicitly discussed this approach in his dissertation in which he described the compositional process behind David Thompson's creation of the four narrative versions of *Travels*.[16] He defined genetic criticism as the interpretation, commentary, and analysis of a text based directly on preparatory material or variant states of all or part of this text, including alterations to and deletions from the text. Moreau argued that material other than the manuscript versions could also be included in a genetic criticism, such as letters by the author about the manuscripts, as long as the material reflected upon the compositional process.[17] Historians W. Kaye Lamb, Glyndwr Williams, and Barbara Belyea have demonstrated how a study of the "preparatory material" has contributed to a fuller understanding of what in each case turned out to be the highly problematic nature of the published text.[18] I have already indicated (in the previous chapter) that Hearne's letters and journals provide significant insight into his writing preferences. Not only have I been able to suggest that Hearne was capable of writing the narrative, I was able to propose, with reasonable assurance, what the style of the narrative would have been at different stages of the writing process. The description of Hearne's preferences over time will also be useful in this chapter, for this information will help to identify the presence of outside influences upon the narrative.

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[13] I still consider authorial intention but not just for assessing what Hearne had in mind as the final form of the narrative, but also what his intentions were at different stages of the 20-year writing process. The nuances of Hearne's aspirations are covered in detail within the next chapter.

[14] Graham Falconer, "Genetic Criticism," *Comparative Literature* 45.1 (1993), 6. Falconer discussed this approach in detail, providing a background history to the development of this bibliographic strategy, definitions of it, and an explanation of how it could be used.

[15] William E. Moreau "David Thompson's Writing of His *Travels*: The Genetics of an Emerging Exploration Text" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1997), 27. He cites as examples Richard C. Davis' work on John Franklin, MacLaren on Samuel Hearne and Paul Kane, Barbara Belyea on Anthony Henday, and Germaine Warkentin's forthcoming work on Pierre Esprit Radisson.

[16] Moreau, 26.

In researching this thesis I found a number of documents that, until this dissertation, had not formed part of the discussion about the creation of *A Journey*: an excerpt in Edward Umfreville's *The Present State of Hudson's Bay*, a few lines in

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[17] This explanation is based upon Moreau's expanded version of a definition provided by Graham Falconer in "Genetic Criticism," (1993), 3. See Moreau, 25, 30.

[18] W. Kaye Lamb explained how a manuscript version of Alexander Mackenzie's Arctic expedition differed from the text in the published book. Glyndwr Williams described how each of Andrew Graham's volumes differed and the resulting difficulties in publishing a representative version of the collection as one volume. Most recently, Barbara Belyea examined the surviving manuscript versions of Anthony Henday's journal in order to understand how they related to the missing holograph, with the intention of producing a new edition of Henday's work that best represents the author. See Glyndwr Williams, "Preface" and "Appendix B," *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay 1767 - 1791* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969), ix-xi, 352-361; W. Kaye Lamb, "Editor's Introduction," *The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 47-48; Barbara Belyea, editor and commentator, *A Year Inland: The Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2000), 15-36. As explained previously in this dissertation, I have credited the editors in these cases because I am making reference to their editorial comments upon these texts. In cases where I am discussing the main body of the text, I have cited the original author.

Alexander Dalrymple's *Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade*, and two versions of a manuscript in different volumes of Andrew Graham's "Observations on Hudson's Bay."[19] I located these versions using a searching strategy that was based upon the information that described how the original journals disappeared.[20] For example, I examined the publications of the Royal Society for references to Hearne, the Northwest Passage, the potential for mineral wealth in what is now Canada, the Dene (also Copper Indians, Yellowknives, Chipewyan, Wechepowuck, and Northern Indians) and Inuit, and the exploration of the Arctic. I also looked through the index to the National Archives and the HBCA for their holdings on HBC critics, such as Arthur Dobbs, and former HBC employees, such as Andrew Graham and Edward Umfreville. I also searched library holdings for publications by people such as these, which is how I found the excerpt in Umfreville's book. I searched through material published about the HBC from the eighteenth-century onward, both by its critics and later by historians. In one such book I found a puzzling reference made by historian Lawrence Burpee, who suggested that "Hearne had already put the results of his journey before public in pamphlet form in 1773, and again in 1778-80."[21] He did not supply any bibliographic details about these documents. I did not succeed in finding more precise information about them.[22] The dates do not correspond with any of the other known narrative versions. It may be that the earlier pamphlet represented a copy of the report Hearne submitted to the HBC in the summer of 1772. The later pamphlet may have represented the approximate form of the narrative read by La Pérouse in 1782. However, it is not known if the two pamphlets were different versions or merely copies of the same text released at two times. I also examined indexes and guides related to publishers, such as book auction records, and periodicals, newspapers, and magazines, which publishers and booksellers used to advertise their wares during the eighteenth century.[23] Lastly, I searched through a variety of indexes to manuscripts held by the British Library, which was the location of two of the transcriptions belonging to the Coppermine River narrative collection.[24] Though I did not find any other references to manuscripts pertaining to Hearne's journeys, I did gather information that proved helpful in explaining why the two transcriptions were located among particular collections and indications of who may have made the copies.

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[19] Dalrymple's references to Hearne have been noted in his other pamphlet *Memoir of a Map of the Lands around The North-Pole*. The version in the E.2/12 volume of Graham's "Observations" had previously been published, whereas the versions in E.2/9 and E.2/13 had escaped mention.

[20] See Chapter 3.

[21] Lawrence Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1935), 57. Burpee does not mention these pamphlets in any of his earlier works.

[22] I contacted the publisher Macmillan (now CDG Books Canada) regarding the manuscript Burpee submitted for publication but they could not help. I could not find references to these items in the file of correspondence and manuscripts held by Victoria University at the University of Toronto. I contacted the National Archives but they referred me back to Macmillan and Victoria University.

Directly below is the list of nine manuscripts and pre-1795 published excerpts that represent some of the different stages of composition for the Coppermine River narrative.

- Andrew Graham, "M^{r}. Samuel Hearne's Account of the Massacre of the Esquimaux by the Wechepowuck Indians at the Copper Mine River in Latitude 72: 54 North. Longitude 125° :6'9 West From London," HBCA E.2/13, Observations on Hudson's Bay, pp 252-257. 1775 approx.[25]

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[23] Some of these items I had used to locate the Burpee pamphlets, such as Thomas Rodd's *Booksellers Catalogue of Tracts & Pamphlets. 1819 & 1823*, facsimile reprint by Bloomfield Books and Publications (1975); *Catalogue of Twelve Thousand Tracts, Pamphlets, and unbound Books*, parts 1 and 2 (London, 1819, 1820). These indexes listed some of the documents already in my collection, such as the books by Umfreville and Cook, and they also listed pamphlets containing reviews of these works, such as *Wales' Remarks on Forster's Account of Captain Cook's Voyage* (1778) ; see Twelve Thousand Tracts, part 2, 309.

[24] I examined the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1756-1782*, Additional Manuscripts 4101-5017 (London: British Museum Publications, 1977); *Index of Manuscripts in the British Library* (Cambridge: Chandwyck-Healey, 1985); *Index to the Additional Manuscripts...acquired in the years 1783-1835* (London: n.d.).

[25] The dates for all three volumes of Graham's "Observations" are based on Glyndwr Williams' estimation of when Graham completed each one.

- Captain James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, vol. 1, London, 1784, pp xlvii-xlix, l-li.
- Alexander Dalrymple, *Memoir of a Map of the Lands around The North-Pole*, London, printed by George Biggs, 1789.
- Alexander Dalrymple, *Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade, and Securing it for this Country, by Uniting the Operations of The East-India and Hudson's Bay Companys*, London, printed by George Biggs, 1789.
- Edward Umfreville, *The Present State of Hudson's Bay*, London, 1790, pp 24-26.
- "A journal of Observations made on a Journey Inland from Prince of Wales's Fort in Latitude 58° 50 North to Lat: 72:00 Beginning 7th Decr 1770 ending June 30th 1772 - by Samuel Hearne," Stowe MSS, vol. 307, fos. 67-89 (1791), Department of Manuscripts, British Library.
- Andrew Graham, excerpt untitled, HBCA E.2/12, Observations on Hudson's Bay, pp 336-345. 1791 approx.
- Andrew Graham. "Mr. Samuel Hearne's Account of the Massacre of the Esquimays," HBCA E.2/9, Observations on Hudson's Bay, fos 133-135. 1793 approx.
- "Hearne's Journal 1770-72 from the Original in the Possession of the Hudson's Bay Company," Dropmore Papers, Grenville MSS, ADD.59237, 47 ff., Department of Manuscripts, British Library. Date unknown.

The documents are listed according to the date in which they entered the public realm. However, this manner of ordering the documents does not necessarily correspond to how the documents should be organized according to the stages of composition. In the case of excerpts of the Coppermine River narrative appearing in published books, such as the one located in the introduction to Captain Cook's 1784 narrative, the date represents the time when the surrounding text was published, but not necessarily when Hearne originally wrote this textual version. The dates associated with unpublished manuscripts are also misleading. For example, I initially assigned dates to the excerpts of Hearne's account that appear in multiple volumes of Andrew Graham's "Observations" that reflect when Graham finished a particular volume. Glyndwr Williams, who edited a published representation of Graham's volumes, has suggested that Graham collected material over time, so that different parts of any one volume were written at separate times.[26] The date ascribed to the manuscript belonging to the Stowe MSS collection is problematic as well. This account, written in a hand other than Hearne's, is dated 1791. It is highly likely that this date instead refers to the time when the transcriber finished copying the manuscript. The following section describes each one of the above documents and suggests to which stage each one belongs. I have presented them in order, according to the stage of the writing process I believe each one represents, beginning with the earliest surviving stage from the Coppermine River narrative (see Figure Seven on the next page).

Journal and Report

The earliest stage of the narrative would have taken the form of the rough notes Hearne made while travelling. Hearne would have used the present tense in composing these entries and would have employed a note-taking style similar to that found in other journals he authored, such as the 1768 *Speedwell* Shallop journal and the two Cumberland House journals.[27] The original journals from each of the three attempts to reach the northern copper mines have disappeared from the public realm.

The next stage of composition would have been the reports or fair copies that Hearne sent to London following his return from each of the attempts. If these documents were anything like the Cumberland House journals that he sent a few years later, the Coppermine River reports would have mirrored the original journals very closely, and may

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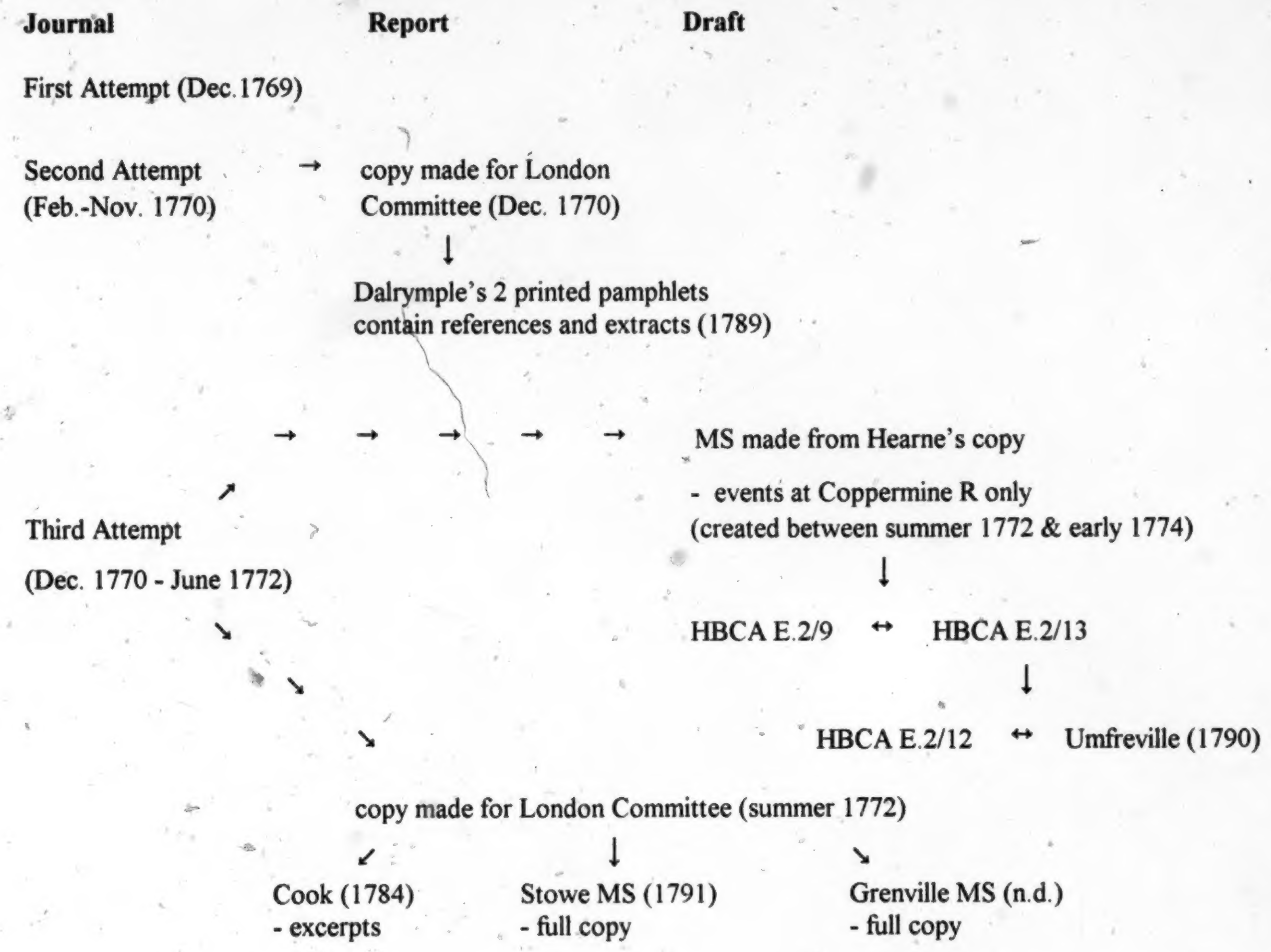
[26] Williams, *Graham's Observations*, ix, 355. Here Williams notes that Graham wrote the volumes over a twenty-five year period. In Appendix B Williams describes the writing period specific to each volume. In the case of the volume catalogued in the HBCA as E.2/9, Graham wrote most of it by 1772, but he continued to make additions into the 1780s. It is likely that he handed the book over to the HBC governors in 1793.

[27] HBCA B.42/a/ 73 Churchill Post Journal, *Speedwell* Shallop Journal 1768; B.49/a/1-2, Cumberland House Post Journals 1774-1775. In all cases Hearne writes in the present tense or suggests the recent past (descriptions of the events from the morning when he is writing in the evening).

Figure 7: Relationship between Documents Representative of the Coppermine Rivier Narrative


Journal
Report
Draft
First Attempt (Dec.1769)
Second Attempt (Feb.-Nov. 1770)
copy made for London Committee (Dec. 1770)
Dalrymple's 2 printed pamphlets contain references and extracts (1789)
MS made from Hearne's copy
- events at Coppermine R only
(created between summer 1772 & early 1774)
Third Attempt
(Dec. 1770 - June 1772)
HBCA E.2/9
HBCA E.2/13
HBCA E.2/12
Umfreville (1790)
copy made for London Committee (summer 1772)
Cook (1784)
- excerpts
Stowe MS (1791)
- full copy
Grenville MS (n.d.)
- full copy

have included an additional policy statement (although the *Speedwell* Shallop journal contained no such statement). While the two stages, theoretically, are different, in this case the differences between them appear to have been minimal. Based on the *Speedwell* and two Cumberland House reports that Hearne sent to London, the reports of his attempts to locate the copper mines would have contained entries that Hearne wrote in the present tense and that generally represented daily occurrences. As suggested in Chapter 3, the purpose of making these reports may have been only to provide the London Committee with a neater and less weather-beaten copy of the information in the original journal. According to journal-writing practices at Churchill, the report would have been in Hearne's handwriting.[28] Like his three journals, these reports have disappeared.

In place of the missing original journals are a few lines from the report on the second attempt in two different pamphlets written by Alexander Dalrymple. There are also two lengthy manuscripts, both transcriptions, that represent the entire report from the third journey, with the possible exception of a policy statement that Hearne may or may not have composed. As well, an excerpt from third attempt was published in 1784 in the introduction to Captain James Cook's *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*. I will begin by discussing the material in the two pamphlets by Dalrymple.

Alexander Dalrymple spent forty-three years in the service of the East India Company (1752-95), beginning as a writer, becoming deputy-secretary and eventually a ship's commander, before receiving the appointment of hydrographer. He was originally chosen, ahead of Captain James Cook, to lead the voyage to the South Pacific in order to observe the Transit of Venus in 1769. However, he would not agree to the terms of the contract so was turned down. In 1795 the British Admiralty selected Dalrymple as their hydrographer, a new position and one that he held until 1808 when the Admiralty dismissed him. Dalrymple died three weeks later.[29] During that time he published numerous tracts and books on company policy and exploration in the Pacific Ocean, as well as some maps. Among them are two pamphlets, one concerning a proposed union between the East India Company and the HBC, and the other reflecting upon the current state of knowledge regarding the geography of the northern polar region.

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[28] Barbara Belyea noted that Andrew Graham, then the Second at York Factory, made the report that was to be sent to London of Anthony Henday's 1754-55 expedition from the explorer's notes. Belyea suggests that Graham, who also made three other copies of this journal for inclusion in different volumes of his "Observations on Hudson's Bay," either inserted a sense of optimism about inland trade potential into the report, or later revised Henday's notes for the "Observations" to reflect more prevalent pessimism concerning the state of the Company's trade in the 1770s. However, as I demonstrated in Chapter 3, at no time during the entire history of Churchill up to and including Hearne's tenure there, did anyone but the original author make the report of an inland expedition or sea-voyage. See Belyea, ed. and commentator, *A Year Inland: The Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2000), 20, 21.

HBC materials formed a considerable part of Dalrymple's research in each case. Writing on 18 March 1789, Dalrymple thanked the HBC in his introduction to his proposal for uniting that company with the EIC:

> I cannot conclude without making my acknowledgements to The Hudson's-Bay Company, for their very liberal communication of the many *Surveys* and Observations that have been made at their expence...and if ever a charge could have been made *with justice* against That Company for mysterious concealment, nothing of this nature can be imputed to The Present Managers.[30]

He made a similar comment in the other pamphlet, dated 29 May 1789:

> My Friend Mr. Wegg, Governor of the Hudson's-Bay Company, assured me that every information, in possession of The *Hudson's-Bay Company*, would readily be communicated and, by this liberal communication, it was with much satisfaction I found, that the *Geographical Materials*, in their possession, were very copious, and much exceeded my expectations...These unpublished Documents being so valuable, for explaining the Geography of that part of the Globe, I shall lay them before the Public more at large.[31]

Though he relied chiefly upon HBC employee Philip Turnor's journals and maps,

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[29] "Dalrymple, Alexander," *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 5 (London: Oxford University Press), 402-03.

[30] Dalrymple, *Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade*, iv.

[31] Dalrymple, *Memoir of a Map*, B.

Dalrymple included Hearne's accounts from his Coppermine River journeys in the list of "valuable" unpublished documents.

Because Dalrymple claimed to have consulted the descriptions of Hearne's journeys that lay at HBC headquarters, rather than obtaining them directly from the explorer, the version he viewed must have belonged to the report stage. His acknowledgement of Wegg as governor means that he had to have written the pamphlets between 1782 and 1789.[32] But the dates Dalrymple gave for his pamphlets, March and May 1789, suggests that he composed them in close succession toward the end of Wegg's term of office. Strangely enough, considering that it was only in the third journal that Hearne reached the mines, Dalrymple appears to have cited only the account describing the second attempt, even though he makes reference to events that occurred during the third. For example, in questioning the accuracy of Hearne's observations after the quadrant broke on 6 October 1771 during the third journey, he quotes Hearne regarding the earlier breaking of his quadrant on 11 August 1770 during the second journey. Dalrymple's transcription, "the *Bubble*, Sight-Vane, and *Nonius* were broken entirely to pieces," corresponds to the description for 11 August 1770 in *A Journey* when "the bubble, the sight-vane, and vernier, were entirely broke to pieces."[33] Dalrymple also cites Hearne's description of a large lake "[i]n 62°31'N called *Magnus* by the Natives, because of its having communication with a River, which joins Knap's Bay, which is where they always see the *Churchill Sloop*, *Magnus Johnston* Commander." While this passage does not exist in *A Journey*, Dalrymple appears to have copied it from the journal or fair copy of the second attempt because he lists Hearne's 1770 journal as his source.[34] There are two other brief excerpts from the Coppermine River narrative in the Dalrymple pamphlets.

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[32] Richard Glover, "A Note on John Richardson's 'Digression'," 258.

[33] Dalrymple, "Memoir of a Map," 7; *A Journey* (1958), 29.

[34] The report of the first attempt would have been the 1769 journal and the third report would have been the 1770-72 journal. See Dalrymple, *Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade*, 26. Remember as well that it is not clear whether Hearne sent his original journal or a fair copy describing the second attempt.

In neither case does he provide information as to their source, but they do not correspond to anything in the Stowe and Grenville Manuscripts, transcriptions of the journal for the third attempt, nor do they match any phrases in the published journal from any of the attempts. Nonetheless, given that there is no evidence that Dalrymple consulted anything but Hearne's second journal, it is reasonable to assume that these two excerpts also came from the same source, particularly since Hearne visited the subjects of the descriptions during his second attempt.[35] It is difficult to estimate the accuracy of Dalrymple's transcriptions since there is nothing to compare them against except *A Journey*, which, it is assumed at this point in the analysis, represents a mixture of Hearne's and his publisher's alterations to the narrative. As it stands, these brief excerpts are the only known surviving remnants representing Hearne's report from his second attempt to locate the northern copper mines.

There are two manuscripts and some excerpts in Cook's *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* that are based on the report of Hearne's third, and successful, attempt to reach these mines. I will begin by discussing the two manuscripts because they cover the entire attempt. One of the manuscripts belongs to the collection of Stowe Manuscripts and the other is found in the Dropmore Papers, which is part of the Grenville Manuscripts.[36]

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[35] There is an excerpt in reference to a Salt River, located west of the Athabasca River: "it is no more that a small Rivulet that is supplied by a [Salt] Spring, many of which are to be found in the interiour parts of America." (Brackets belong to Dalrymple) The second excerpt describes the lake Yath ked Whoie, "on different parts of which all the Esquimaux winter that the Churchill Sloop sees in the Summer." See Dalrymple, *Memoir of a Map*, 12; *Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade*, 26.

[36] "A Journal of Observations made on a Journey inland from Prince of Wales's Fort in Latitude 58° 50 North to Latitude 70.00, 7 Dec. 1770-30 June 1772, by Samuel Hearne," Stowe MSS, vol. 307, fos. 67-89 (1791), Department of Manuscripts, British Library; "Hearne's Journal 1770-72 from the Original in the Possession of the Hudson's Bay Company," Dropmore Papers, Grenville MSS, ADD.59237, 47 ff. (date unknown), Department of Manuscripts, British Library. I viewed both manuscripts on microfilm copies lent to me by Ian MacLaren. He also provided me with computer transcriptions of both documents. The initial computer transcriptions of both manuscripts were done by Lorraine Somers in 1992-93, and were checked by Eli MacLaren in 1993-94. I have since rechecked their transcriptions and any discrepancies I discussed with Ian MacLaren.

Those scholars who have studied these documents, primarily Ian MacLaren and Richard Glover, believe that both manuscripts represent the journal stage.[37] Direct proof that both documents derive from an early form of the narrative comes from Hearne's introduction to *A Journey*, where he noted that he had misspelled "Athapuscow" as "Arathapescow" in his "Journal and Draft." If the two transcriptions were made from an early version of the narrative, they should reflect this mistake, which they both do. Furthermore, according to the HBCA's collection of documents in Hearne's hand, Hearne had changed the spelling to "Athapuscow" by 1786 at the latest, which means that the document he submitted for publication in 1792 would not have contained this orthographic preference. Thus the document Hearne called a "Draft" must have been something other than the one he handed over to his publishers.[38] Another indication that the transcripts are modeled upon an early form of the narrative comes from the writing style. Both documents follow the standard format found in HBC journals. The entries usually begin with a weather report and then describe events of significance. The content is devoted to describing the landscape, the availability of food and shelter, the population of fur-bearing creatures, and the sources of travelling delays. The entry is written in a mixture of present and near-past tenses. There is no foreshadowing. In the collection of letters in Hearne's hand, he had demonstrated that he could write quite a different style from the journals; thus, it is unlikely that a later version of the narrative still would have followed the journal-style. One indication that the documents may represent a report instead of a journal is that the typical entry summarizes the events from the past few days; however, Hearne may have had the time and energy during the trek to make entries only once every few days. I maintain that the difference between the original journal and report, or fair copy, were probably so minimal (Hearne may have altered some capitalization, punctuation or spelling, but not content) that it is not significant to this study to identify to which of the first two stages these manuscripts belonged. An examination of the provenance of each of the manuscripts helps to explain why the Hearne excerpt ended up in the Stowe and Grenville collections.

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[37] At the time that Richard Glover wrote the introduction to the 1958 edition of *A Journey*, he knew only about the Stowe MS. He described it as a copy of Hearne's journal. See Glover, "Editor's Introduction," xxxii. Ian MacLaren mentioned the existence of the two manuscripts in "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey*," (p 21) and, in fact, was responsible for informing me about the Grenville MS. However, to date he has published an analysis only of the content belonging to the Stowe MS. See "Samuel Hearne's Accounts," 28-34. Mary Hamilton, who has also attempted to explain the relationship between the Stowe MS and *A Journey*, assumed that the date represented the moment when Hearne first composed this version of the narrative. See Mary Hamilton, "Samuel Hearne," *Profiles in Canadian Literature*, ed. Jeffrey Heath, vol. 3 (Toronto and Charlottetown: Dundurn Press, 1982), 13.

[38] Hearne, "Introduction," *A Journey*, lxvii, footnote; Stowe MS, 10; Grenville MS, 21. Information on Hearne's 1786 spelling preference comes from the data I collected from those documents in Hearne's handwriting.

Both manuscripts possess a somewhat convoluted history. The first manuscript to gain scholarly attention was the Stowe MS. Richard Glover provided an amusing description of its provenance: "in 1791 it was copied for the Marquis of Buckingham. The Marquis bound his copy up, cheek by jowl, with a manuscript account of the sordid details of somebody else's divorce, and then buried it in his library, whence it ultimately came safely to rest in the British Museum."[39] Then, twenty-three years later, Robert Smith noted the existence of another transcription of Hearne's narrative. In this case, it belonged to a collection of manuscripts, entitled the Dropmore Papers, that concerned British political affairs and was part of the larger collection known as the Grenville MSS. The British Library's Department of Manuscripts had acquired the Dropmore Papers only in 1970.[40]

Contrary to first appearances, there are legitimate reasons for the inclusion of Hearne's Coppermine River account in both of these collections. The Stowe MS and the Grenville MS are in fact related collections; they represent two of many such repositories of books and papers belonging to the Grenville family in the British Library. While there are numerous connections between the family members and the transcriptions of the Hearne material, most of it is circumstantial in nature. Many of the specific details regarding the manuscripts' origins remains elusive beyond the possibilities outlined below.

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[39] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," xxxii. Glover learned of the manuscript through W.L. Morton, who had referred him to a note in the bibliography of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. 6 (Cambridge, 1930), 817.

[40] Robert A.H. Smith, "The Dropmore Papers (ADD. MSS. 58855-59494)," *The British Library Journal* 7.1 (1981), 75.

The Marquis of Buckingham, referred to by Glover, was George Grenville.[41] Grenville's home residence was at Stowe on the Buckingham estate. His descendant, the first Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, was responsible for creating a collection of family papers for the Dukes of Buckingham, aptly named the Stowe Manuscripts in reference to the family residence. In 1849, ten years after Richard's death, the second Duke of Buckingham put the items up for sale by auction, an act prompted by financial need. Though the British Museum expressed an interest in the collection, the fourth Earl of Ashburnham bought the Stowe Manuscripts before the museum could act. However, in 1883 the fifth Earl of Ashburnham sold the collection to the British Museum, where it presently resides.[42]

The Stowe Manuscripts was the first of the Grenville family collections of papers to be acquired by the British Library.[43] As a whole these papers are related to the affairs of the Dukes of Buckingham, but the presence of some items belonging to George Grenville within this collection is understandable given his direct connection to the first Duke of Buckingham. While it presently impossible to explain specifically how Hearne's third attempt became mixed with someone else's divorce papers, nonetheless I can establish a reasonable hypothesis for the Hearne material's appearance in the overall collection. The most likely explanation stems from the Grenville family's involvement in the business of colonial trade and general interest in exploration accounts. George apparently shared this enthusiasm, for aside from the Hearne material included among the Stowe Manuscripts is a manuscript of Canadian fur trader Alexander Mackenzie's journey across the Canadian West.[44] There is also a tract concerning the usefulness of a Northwest Passage, and a number of pamphlets that discuss chartered companies.[45] Hearne's account contains subject-matter related to all of these documents. Further connections exist between the two transcriptions of Hearne's account and other members of the Grenville family, particularly George's older brother William Wyndham, Baron Grenville, and younger brother Thomas Grenville.

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[41] Smith, 75.

[42] M.A.E. Nickson, *The British Library: Guide to the catalogues and indexes of the Department of Manuscripts* (London: The British Library, 1978), 6; Gertrude Bruford Rawlings, *The British Museum Library* (London: Grafton and Co., 1916) 207; Seymore de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530-1930)* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1930), 131, footnote 1; T.C. Skeat, Keeper of the Manuscripts, *The British Museum. The Catalogues of the Manuscript Collections*, rev. ed. (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1962), 13.

[43] Smith, 75.

William's massive collection of correspondence, notebooks, and estate material comprises the Dropmore Papers, so named for his home residence. William had served as the British Foreign Secretary between 1791-1801 and briefly as Prime Minister in 1806-07. In all, his public career spanned fifty years.[46] During his first year at the post of Foreign Secretary, William helped to design and then pass the Canada Act of 1791. This work was tied directly to his keen interest in the potential for trade with Britain's colonies, particularly India and Canada. Perhaps then, it is less surprising that an account of

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[44] According to W. Kaye Lamb, editor for Mackenzie's journals and letters, the explorer presented George Grenville with a transcribed copy of his Arctic expedition journal titled, "Journal of a Voyage performed by the Order of the N.W. Company, in a Bark Canoe in search of a Passage by water through the N.W. Continent of America from Athabasca to the Pacific Ocean in Summer 1789." The manuscript is in two different hands, neither of which belong to Mackenzie. See Lamb, "Editor's Introduction," 47-48.

[45] In manuscript 301, "Political and other Tracts," see "A discussion on the North-West Passage, arguing that it would be useless if discovered" (begins fo 10). In manuscript 303, "Transcripts of tracts and papers relating to Trade, Parliamentary and Legal Procedures and State Affairs," there are the following relevant tracts: "the Rise and State of the Fellowship of Merchants-Adventurers of England" (begins on fo 99); "Argument concerning a Patent granted in the reign of K. Charles II. to divers Merchants of London for them and their Company only to trade into the Canaries," (begins on fo 109). For a list of the contents of the Stowe MSS see *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1895).

[46] Smith, 75.

Hearne's trek was found among these colonial papers.[47] The Hearne material is catalogued within the Dropmore Papers as Add. MS. 59237, which falls within the Colonial papers numbered 59230-50. William's professional concerns neatly intersected with the subject matter of the journal, for the purpose of Hearne's journey had been to appraise the potential wealth of the copper mines and to evaluate the probability of their being located near a direct water transportation route to Britain. Yet another possible connection between William's work and the Hearne material stemmed from Grenville's efforts to abolish trade monopolies, of which the Hudson's Bay Company was a prime example.[48] It is likely William would have known about the HBC due to his involvement in separating the nearby Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, and because of the company's history of British parliamentary enquiries and debates concerning its chartered monopoly.

Aside from political interests, William Grenville was a scholar of the classics and served as Chancellor for Oxford University. He was also a trustee of the British Museum. William nurtured a lifelong interest in topics particularly related to archeology, geology, history, and science. As Chancellor he took a particular interest in the geological studies at Oxford. There are letters to William, from the nineteenth century, which concern Canadian and African geological specimens held at the British Museum.[49] By this time, Hearne's four-pound copper nugget rested in this collection. William also regularly corresponded with Sir Joseph Banks, an avid naturalist and a member of the Royal Society.[50] According to Robert Smith, William was known as "a keen collector of maps," although this interest is not reflected in the Dropmore Papers.[51] William may have desired his own copy of Hearne's account based on Hearne's role in the historic quest for the Northwest Passage, or Hearne's emerging reputation as an expert on the flora and fauna of the sub-arctic world, or Hearne's maps of his route and the surrounding region. It was but a short step from William's political and academic interests to the story of Hearne's quest to locate the northern copper mines and the Northwest Passage. William, more so than either of his brothers, had the greatest opportunity to be exposed to Hearne's journal. Although the precise means by which William acquired the journal is not known, clearly it was not by accident.

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[47] Smith, 77.

[48] Smith, 78-79.

[49] Smith, 80.

[50] Smith, 81. The letters are part of the Dropmore collection.

[51] Smith, 80.

Another association between the Grenvilles and the Hearne material, although indirect, derives from the youngest brother's passion. Though the Grenville family shared a general interest in book collecting, including narratives of travel and exploration, it was Thomas, the family bibliophile, who created a sizable library, that at his death consisted of 20 240 volumes. He bequeathed his collection to the British Library in 1846, in part out of his longstanding desire to share the knowledge contained in his collection with scholars.[52] Thomas' penchant to acquire things of a rare nature would have made a copy of the explorer's and naturalist's account of his travels a desirable object. Thus, it could also have been through Thomas that either one of the other brothers learned of the journal, or found access to it.

The one connection that appears not to have influenced any of the Grenvilles' acquisition of the Hearne manuscript was the popular published version of Hearne's three attempts. Certainly George acquired his copy prior to the first publication of Hearne's adventures in 1795. The clue is located at the end of this manuscript where the date 1791 has been written. Though there is no date directly attached to the Grenville MS, circumstantial evidence from William Grenville's business career supports a similar transcription date.[53] According to Robert Smith, the handwriting of William's copy belongs to Charles Goddard, his secretary during the 1790s. This was the decade when William worked on the Canada Act (1791) and attempted to ban trade monopolies such as the HBC. This time period also coincides with the dates for the majority of the Canadian material in the Dropmore collection.[54] How far removed the MSS are from the original text is unknown. Perhaps George and William independently commissioned transcriptions from different documents, such as another then-existing copy or from the missing report or from the missing journal. It is also possible that one of the manuscripts was transcribed from the collection belonging to the other brother. A study of some of the physical characteristics and text of the transcriptions generates further insight into their natures.

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[52] Rawlings, 128-29.

[53] MacLaren notes that the watermark for the Grenville MS is inconclusive. See "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey*," 40, footnote 5.

Each manuscript displays a different handwriting, neither of which belongs to Hearne.[55] If Robert Smith is correct, then the handwriting of the Grenville MS belongs to William's secretary, Charles Goddard. The scribe of the Stowe MS remains a mystery. The handwriting does not match the hand of any HBC employees contemporary with Hearne.[56] An examination of documents written by George Grenville's staff and acquaintances may yet yield the identity of this manuscript's scribe, but that research project was beyond my means at this time. Both transcriptions describe only Hearne's third attempt to reach the copper mines from the time he left Churchill until his return and seem to be textually identical upon a cursory reading. The Stowe MS is forty-five pages long and the Grenville MS is ninety-two pages, including the title page. The different lengths derive from the much shorter line length in the Grenville MS, not from a substantial difference in content.

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[54] Smith, 82.

[55] The handwriting in the Stowe MS was, in places, quite similar to Hearne's. Examples matching the capital letters in the Stowe MS could be found in the collection of Hearne's letters and journals, but there was no one time period or year that encapsulated all the similarities. I ruled out the writer as Hearne for a number of reasons. First, there is no way that this document represents Hearne's handwriting pre-1778 because none of the "e"s is backwards. Thus it cannot be the holograph version of the report or journal. Second, keeping in mind that 1791 was the date when the copy was made, there are still a number of consistent differences between this MS and the handwriting in the collection of Hearne's letters in journals dating from the latter part of his HBC career. Hearne consistently makes tighter curls protruding from the tops of lower case "d"s than the copyist for the Stowe MS. In Hearne's case the curl typically extends back overtop a few preceding letters, whereas the transcriber preferred to extend a much looser curl to the beginning of the word. As well, the transcriber's handwriting tended to be more condensed than Hearne's.

[56] I compared the handwriting in these copies to the examples from journals and letters associated with Churchill between the years 1772 (the time of Hearne's return from the third attempt) and 1787 (the time Hearne retired). It is possible that an employee whose handwriting is not part of the HBC's collection of documents made one of these copies, but I believe this is improbable because there just does not seem to be any reason that this

Neither one of the manuscripts contains additional policy remarks, though given Hearne's other journals this absence does not necessarily resolve anything; the respective transcribers may have been only interested in the journal portion of the document. Nor do the titles to these documents reveal their nature. The title of the Stowe MS, "A journal of Observations made on a Journey Inland from Prince of Wales's Fort in Latitude 58° 50 North to Lat: 72:00 Beginning 7th Dec^{r} 1770 ending June 30th 1772 - by Samuel Hearne," sounds typical of the titles Hearne designed for his other journals. However, it is not known if Hearne used different titles for his original journals and the fair copy or report that he sent to his employers. The title of the Grenville MS, "Hearne's Journal 1770-72 from the Original in the Possession of the Hudson's Bay Company," indicates that it was made from the fair copy at the HBC's London headquarters; the location suggests that it is a transcription of what we would know as Hearne's report since this is the narrative version he would have sent to his employers. In this case the title seems to have been created by the copyist. Though the manuscripts are very similar, it is possible that either the numerous and mostly insubstantial differences result from the transcriptions having derived from the two different stages, or that they are from the same stage but that the copyists introduced the changes.

Ian MacLaren believed that in all likelihood only the spelling of the Stowe MS was

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would have happened. It is also likely that if the copy was going to be made by an HBC employee, that it would have been made prior to Hearne's departure, because it seems likely that Hearne would have taken his journals with him.

altered from the original journal to match the transcriber's own preferences.[57] For the most part, MacLaren's assumptions about these documents have proven to be correct. For example, there are no instances of Hearne's particular preferences for "eing" as in "becomeing," or "ben" (for been), or "ware" (for was or were) in either manuscript. Hearne consistently employed these spellings during the time when he would have made the journal and report. Both transcribers corrected Hearne's "perswade" and "preswade" to "persuade." Similarly, they changed "aminition" to "ammunition," "asshure" to "assure," "carreying" to "carrying," "difficualt" to "difficult," "prograce" to "progress," and "meterial" to "material." With the exception of "acquainte," the transcribers also eliminated the "e" at the end of words such as "againe," "coaste," "loade," "remaine," and "snowe." Both transcribers variously altered Hearne's preference for "compleat" to a mixed use of "compleat" and "complete;" significantly, the latter spelling does not appear in any of the documents handwritten by Hearne. This form of editorial intrusion also occurred with "further" and "farther." Nowhere in any of Hearne's letters and journals does he ever write "farther," yet there is a mixed use of "further" and "farther" in both transcriptions.[58] It is important to note that none of these changes affected the meaning of the document.

However, it is when the two manuscripts are compared to one another that their level of seeming similarity evaporates. Line by line, word by word, and character by character I catalogued the differences between the two manuscripts.[59] In total I found

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[57] MacLaren, "Samuel Hearne's Accounts," 29. He made this statement before he became aware of the existence of the Grenville MS, but had he known about this second document it is probable that he would have included it in the above description.

[58] These examples are a summary of the types of differences. I did not list all of the cases.

[59] Ian MacLaren kindly lent me his microfilmed copy of each manuscript. He also provided me with computer files containing a printed versions of both manuscripts as transcribed from the microfilm. The transcriptions faithfully mirrored their microfilmed subjects in terms of line and page length, as well as superscripted, subscripted, and underlined letters and words, abbreviated and crossed out words, as well as marginal notes. I checked and rechecked the microfilm version against the computer file for each

2448 instances of variation, which I found surprising considering how similar the two transcriptions appeared. The table below illustrates the method by which I recorded these differences; the example is a random selection from the database.

Figure 8: Method of Recording Differences between the Grenville and Stowe Manuscripts

Grenville MS, line from page 31.	11 miles to the NW. then
Stowe MS, matching clause, page 16.	11 miles to the N.W. then,
Document 3: Grenville MS as initial base text with notation of differences.	11 miles to the NW.[614] then[615]
Matching endnotes from Document 3.	614. NW.] N.W. 615. then] then,

What follows is a summary of this analysis. First of all, it must be stated that considering the number of variations between the documents, neither manuscript contained passages not in the other. Capitalization, punctuation and symbolic substitutions comprised by far the greatest proportion of the differences, and in every case these differences did not alter the contextual meaning. For example, the transcriber of Grenville MS signaled the end of a sentence or series of related phrases with a period where as the transcriber of the Stowe MS preferred to use a dash. Other frequent variations consisted of the use of a comma instead of a period or a colon in place of a semicolon. Given the flexibility with which Hearne employed different punctuation marks, or chose to ignore them completely, it is likely that the transcribers inserted the marks in places that made sense to them. As for differences in capitalization, there was no pattern. The transcribers' use of ampersands in place of the word "and" was responsible for the other most frequent cause of variation.

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manuscript, and in consultation with Ian MacLaren added in the few missed phrases and where appropriate, changed the letters and punctuation. Next, I created another computer file for the purpose of cataloguing the differences between the two manuscripts. Arbitrarily selecting the Grenville MS as the base text I inserted an endnote at self-designated places in the text. Each endnote contained one change or a number of changes so closely related that it would have been too cumbersome to document them separately. As it was, there were 1916 endnotes which referred to a total of 2448 differences.

Because none of these types of variation resulted in the altered meaning of Hearne's observations, I labeled them as insubstantive differences and did not pursue the examination beyond documenting their existence.[60] There were, however, a number of other types of variation which seemed potentially more useful in evaluating the level of transcriptive accuracy in these manuscripts.

The remaining differences between the Grenville and Stowe manuscripts consisted of differences in spelling, different directions and numbers, reversed word order, and words that had been dropped or added or substituted. Some of these variations are substantive because they produce different meanings in each text. In order to assess these types of variation I separated each case into categories, as described above.

There were forty-two examples of variations between the two manuscripts in terms of spelling and none of these differences compromised the context of the surrounding passage. Most of the variants appeared to be the result of misreading, adding, or dropping a letter of the word, all of which are common manuscript transcription errors. In one such instance the transcriber of the Grenville MS wrote the name of a lake as "Scarlick" whereas the transcriber for the Stowe MS depicted the lake as "Scartick." During the tedious process of transcription it is easy to imagine mistaking "l" for a "t" or vice versa. I checked all of the spelling cases against the database of Samuel Hearne's orthographic preferences to see if there was a pattern of editorial interference. Generally the Grenville MS more closely adhered to Hearne's preferences. For example, Hearne consistently preferred "compleat," which the Grenville MS maintained and the Stowe MS altered to "complete."[61] However, in many cases the word in question was a place name specific to the Coppermine River journeys and these words were not in any of Hearne's letters or other journals. Therefore I decided to consult the corresponding entries in *A Journey* to see how these words were spelled there.[62] Because Hearne had noted in his introduction to *A Journey* that he had altered his spelling preference for "Arathapescow," I assumed that he had not intentionally changed his spelling of other place names. Thus, he would have spelled place names the same in both his report and the manuscript he submitted for publication. Furthermore, I assumed that since these words were uncommon, the publisher would not have had any reason to alter Hearne's preferences. But in most of cases where the matching passage had survived in the published account, there were further variations. The few matches did not favour one manuscript over the other.

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[60] When I scrutinized the collection of Samuel Hearne's letters and journals I found no pattern in any of these categories which would have lent authority to one of these early manuscripts over the other.

[61] It is important to note that even in this case the transcriber for the Grenville MS was not immune from making changes. While this section deals with variations between the two MSS, when I searched the Grenville for "complete" I found two instances.

Where the MSS contained different numbers and directions I again looked to the corresponding entries in the 1795 account. In the case of different numbers, none of the entries survived in the published narrative, making it impossible to evaluate the accuracy of the transcriptions.[63] For the two cases of varying directions, the Stowe MS matched the published narrative on both accounts.[64] It is difficult to explain why a transcriber would have altered the direction. The difference does not seem to be explained by an accidental slip since the letters do not look alike, nor could the variations be explained by transposing the letters. Perhaps the Grenville MS is one of the copies Samuel Hearne complained about in his introduction to the 1795 narrative:

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[62] As I explained in my Introduction, Ian MacLaren and I had previously checked the 1795 edition against Glover's 1958 edition and found the latter to be an accurate reproduction, with a few minor exceptions, none of which was the subject of variation between the two manuscripts. Where I make a reference to having used the 1795 account, I was actually using the 1958 edition. See MacLaren, "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey*," 25-26.

[63] There were three cases where the two manuscripts contained different numbers. For the entry dated 9 June 1771, the Grenville MS contained the number 16 (page 24) where the Stowe MS had 17 written over 16 (page 12). The second occurrence appeared in the entry for 16 July 1771, where the Grenville MS had 160 (page 43), the Stowe MS had 100 (page 21). The last difference of this type appeared in the entry for 30 April 1772. Here the Grenville MS had 18 (page 83) in contrast to 10 (page 39) of the Stowe MS.

[64] The first case appeared in the entry for 17 December 1770; the Grenville MS contained the direction of W.B.W. (page 3) in place of the Stowe Manuscript's N.B.W. (page 2). The published narrative states that the direction was "to the North West" (*A Journey* (1958), 42). The second case appeared in the entry for 9 March 1771. In this case the Grenville MS states that the direction was N.N.W (page 11), whereas the Stowe MS contained the direction W.N.W. The published narrative stated that the direction was "to the Westward" (*A Journey* (1958), 54).

> Being well assured that several learned and curious gentlemen are in possession of manuscript copies of, or extracts from, my Journals, as well as copies of the Charts, I have been induced to make this copy as correct as possible, and to publish it; especially as I observe that scarcely any two of the publications that contain extracts from my Journals, agree in the dates when I arrived at, or departed from, particular places.[65]

Indeed, Hearne's description of the owners of these copies certainly reflects accurately upon William Grenville. Though two cases of this form of variation do not form a significant pattern, nonetheless it is an indication that these two manuscripts may not have the same base text. For example, one may have been copied directly from the report at the HBC's London headquarters while the other could have been copied from a second or third generation copy. However, it is also possible that the concentration of the transcriber for the Grenville MS, in these two cases, slipped.

There were only three cases of reversed word order. In one example the transcriber for the Grenville MS had written "attendance or attention," whereas the other transcriber had written "attention or attendance." It was impossible to tell from the surrounding passage which case better reflected the original journal. Thus, I turned to *A Journey* in search of the corresponding entries. In the above case the published narrative matched the Grenville MS. It was the only one of the three cases that appeared in *A Journey*.[66]

The remaining three categories consisted of variations in phrases; the transcribers had either dropped, added, or substituted words. It is just as valid to say that what was added to the Stowe MS had been deleted from the Grenville MS. For the sake of simplicity, I selected the Grenville MS as the base text in order to describe these variations. There were nineteen cases where the transcriber for the Grenville MS had missed words. Comparing the manuscripts to each other did not yield any insight into the transcriptive accuracy since the phrases made sense with and without these words. Many of the missed words were adjectives and adverbs, and there were a few examples of missed pronouns, prepositions, and definite articles. While it is possible that these variations were the result of slips made by the Grenville MS transcriber, given Hearne's tendency to omit items like pronouns and prepositions in his journals, it is also possible that the transcriber for the Stowe MS inserted these words into the manuscript. However, it seems more difficult to believe that the transcriber for the Stowe MS would have invented the additional descriptive elements provided by the adjectives and adverbs, especially given the overall similarity between the two manuscripts. When these variations are compared to the published narrative, only six cases survived, two of which proved inconclusive due to alterations in the published text. Three of the remaining four cases matched the Stowe MS. For example, where the Stowe MS and published narrative had "which ruins runs" and "Through these ruins runs," the Grenville MS had just "which runs."[67] Here, it seems that the variations were caused by slips made by the Grenville MS transcriber.

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[65] Hearne, "Introduction" (1958), li.

[66] Grenville MS, 39; Stowe MS, 20; *A Journey* (1958), 96. The reversal occurred in the entry for 16 July 1771. The other two cases (river above/ above river and were first / first were) appeared in the entries for 21 June 1771 and 11 July 1771. See Grenville MS, 35, 39; Stowe MS, 18, 20; *A Journey* (1958), 91, 96.

In terms of words added to the Grenville MS (or deleted from the Stowe MS), I found thirty-three examples of this type of variation, and of these, only ten corresponded to matching passages in *A Journey*. Three of these cases produced inconclusive results, but every one of the other cases the variation in the Grenville MS matched the phrase in the published narrative. However, because many of the added words could have been inferred from the text, such as possessive pronouns, it is possible that both the Grenville MS transcriber and the publisher of the 1795 narrative inserted the same words. One pattern of added words occurred with the phrase "spoke to," where "to" had been added to the Grenville MS. Again, the transcriber could have added the obvious missing word these cases. It should be said that based on Hearne's letters and journals, Hearne often left out possessive pronouns and prepositions, particularly during the first part of his career. There was one case where the added word changed the meaning of the text. In the Stowe MS, the entry dated 21 May 1772 states that two Chipewyan men had "turned back & will go to the Fort this summer." However, in the Grenville MS the same phrase reads "& will not go."[68] Contextually, the phrase from the Grenville MS makes better sense since at this point Hearne and his Chipewyan companions were heading toward Churchill, but since this detail has been altered in *A Journey* it is not possible to tell whether the mistake lay with Hearne (who was corrected by the transcriber of the Grenville MS), or whether the Stowe MS transcriber accidentally omitted this word. Generally the variations belonging to this category did not distinguish either manuscript as more accurately transcribed.

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[67] Grenville MS, 49; Stowe MS, 23; *A Journey* (1958), 112. The differences appear in the entry for 18 July 1771.

The last set of variations, and the largest group by far, consisted of cases where the manuscripts used different words in the same phrase, such as "any" versus "no," or "who" versus "that." These variants arguably are substantive because they cannot be explained away by distracted copying. Replacing a word requires deliberation. Of the seventy-eight variations, only twenty-four corresponded with entries in the 1795 narrative. A number of these variations produced significantly different meanings in the text. There were two examples where the Grenville MS had "dissuade" in place of "persuade," as was written in the Stowe MS and *A Journey*.[69] In contrast, the transcriber for the Stowe MS appears to have misread the document in order to have written "full" in place of "fall" as in the

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[68] Entry for 21 May 1772, Grenville MS, 85; Stowe MS, 41.

[69] Interestingly, while Hearne used "persuade" a number of times in his other letters and journals, he never employed "dissuade." See the entries for 23 June 1771 and 14 April 1772 in the Grenville MS, 28, 81; Stowe MS, 14, 38; *A Journey* (1958), 80, 184 [second entry reworded].

Grenville MS and "October and November" in the published narrative.[70] The most puzzling, yet substantive, difference between the two texts occurred in the entry dated 14 April 1772 where Hearne described an attack by Chipewyan from his party upon another group of Chipewyan. The key variation lies with the number of men who raped the woman:

> The scoundrels of my crew, took most of their ready dressed provisions from them, together with many of their most useful necessaries, such as Ice chizzles hatchets &c. & after some of them had ravished one of their young women used her so barbarously, that it's a hundred to one if ever she recovers.
>
> The Scoundrels of my crew took most of their ready dressed provisions from them, together with many of their most useful necessaries such as Ice chizzles, hatchets &c- & after near 10 of them had ravished one of their young women used her so barbarously that its a hundred to one if ever she recovers -[71]

This is the only place in the entire manuscript where the change seems deliberate. The published narrative was no help here because in *A Journey* the passage had been expanded and the numbers of attackers (now three gangs) and victims increased. It is unlikely that the Grenville MS transcriber would have made the number of attackers more vague than Hearne originally suggested; neither does it seem probable that the Stowe MS transcriber would have manufactured the number ten since, for the most part, the transcriber had left the text as it was. With no obvious explanation for either transcriber's actions available, this variation may represent evidence that the two transcriptions are copies of different documents.

Overall, while both manuscripts are much the same in terms of content, they also contain many variations of style, and plenty of textual differences. As well, where one manuscript seemed to reflect Hearne's intentions, such as the Stowe MS in the case of variations in cardinal directions, in another area it seemed suspect, such as the added adjectives and adverbs in the Stowe MS. Furthermore, there was only a small number of cases where it was possible to check the variations against the text of *A Journey*, which made it difficult to draw solid conclusions about which manuscript best represented Hearne's text. In terms of the accuracy of how the transcribers reported the transpiration of events from the third attempt to find the copper mines, either text is suitable as a base text.

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[70] Entry for 3 January 1771, Grenville MS, 7; Stowe MS, 4; *A Journey* (1958), 46.

[71] Grenville MS, p 82; Stowe MS, p 38.

The general public first gained access to the contents of Samuel Hearne's journals in 1784. By way of introduction to the history of the search for a water passage through North America, Bishop John Douglas, editor of Cook's *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, thought that excerpts from Hearne's Coppermine River narrative would be of interest to readers. Indeed, the British Admiralty had borrowed Hearne's journals and maps from the HBC, prior to sending Cook off on his mission in 1776, in order to help decide where to look for the Northwest Passage.[72] According to Glyndwr Williams, "Hearne's sighting of the Arctic coastline...indicated that a seaway might be found around rather than through the North American continent."[73]

There are three excerpts of the Coppermine River narrative in Douglas' editorial introduction, all of which describe events that occurred during Hearne's third attempt. The first excerpt is presented as a direct quotation from Hearne's third journal. It describes the astronomical observations Hearne took at Conge Catha Wha Chaga in June 1771.[74] Even in this short piece Douglas' editorial hand appears to have been heavy. He printed out "and" for "&," and he set in lower cases all capitals except for place names and cardinal directions. He also inserted many extra commas, a practice he continued to exercise in the other two excerpts. In terms of substantial variations, Douglas replaced "called Conge Catha Wha Chaga" with "this place" and deleted "River" after the word "Churchill." The cited observation coheres with that provided in the Grenville and Stowe MS.[75] Certainly the meaning conveyed in Douglas' version remains true to the matching passages in the Stowe and Grenville MSS but Douglas also demonstrates a determination to alter the wording of the original text to match his own preferences. He displays this tendency more clearly in the other two excerpts, both of which are longer.

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[72] Glyndwr Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, 1962), 172.

[73] Glyndwr Williams, "Cook, James," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 165.

[74] Douglas suggested he was quoting the journal by printing the text in italics. The rest of the sentence Douglas composed. It is as follows: "In the month of June 1771, being then at a place called *Conge catha wha Chaga*, he had, to use his own words, *two good observations, both by meridian and double altitudes, the means of which determines this place to be in latitude 65°46' North, and, by account, in longitude 24°2' West of Churchill.*" See James Douglas, "Editor's Introduction," *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, vol. 1 (London: Strahan and Cadell, 1784), xlvii-xlviii.

The second excerpt describes Hearne's act of surveying the mouth of the Coppermine River. Douglas indicates that he is quoting from Hearne's journal by introducing the excerpt as taken from "his own words" and Douglas places the excerpt within quotation marks. The text is similar enough to the corresponding sections in the Stowe and Grenville MSS to assume that all three share a similar source. Once again Douglas makes the same alterations to ampersands and capital letters, and he inserts a great many commas and periods. Douglas spelled out numbers where the Stowe and Grenville MS had numerals. He breaks Hearne's description into two paragraphs. As he did with the first passage he changed some words to clarify the context, such as where the Stowe and Grenville had "those tents," Douglas wrote "the tents of the Esquimaux." Perhaps the most substantial variation between Douglas' version and the Stowe and Grenville MSS is the alteration of the direction of North West by North to North West by West.[76] In this passage there are a number of differences in wording between the Stowe and Grenville manuscripts. Where the Stowe MS contained the phrase "a probability of its being made navigable," the Grenville MS replaced "probability" with "possibility." Douglas' version also has "possibility," and in addition he slightly altered the wording to read "a possibility of being made navigable."[77] Both the Grenville MS and Douglas version shared "thereof," "courses," and "on" in contrast to "there of," "coarses," and "upon" in the corresponding places in the Stowe MS.[78] There were two examples where the Grenville MS varied from the text in the Stowe and Douglas versions. In one case the Grenville MS had "compleated" where the other two had "completed." This variation may be explained by the transcribers' preferences. It has already been established that Hearne himself preferred "compleat." Most of the versions, including the ones in Graham's "Observations" and Umfreville's book have replaced this spelling with "complete." Thus, this variant merely shows that Douglas and the transcriber for the Stowe MS decided to alter the spelling. The other variation occurred where the Grenville MS had "a little fog" in place of "a thick fog" as appeared in the other two versions.[79] Here the transcriber for the Grenville MS appears to have deliberately altered the text.

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[75] Stowe MS, p 15; Grenville MS, p 29.

[76] The previous two differences are found in Stowe MS, 22; Grenville MS, 45; Douglas, "Editor's Introduction," *A Voyage*, vol. 1 (1784), lxviii.

The third, and longest, excerpt contains Hearne's description of the lone Dogrib woman he encountered on the return trip to Churchill in January 1772.[80] It is not clear why he selected this passage other than it interested him; it does not pertain to the subject matter of the introduction which was to set up why Cook went so far north to look for the Northwest Passage. The other two excerpts from Hearne relate directly to this cause; one sets up the (in)accuracy of Hearne's observations and the other establishes that the passage did not flow through the continent of North America. The excerpt is printed in small type in a footnote running over two pages. The only textual indication that Douglas transcribed it from Hearne's journal comes at the end of the passage where he writes "Hearne's MS. Journal." Douglas clearly copied it from the same text as the Stowe and Grenville MSS as his version corresponds to a high degree with the other two versions.

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[77] Stowe MS, p 22 ; Grenville MS, p 45; Douglas, "Editor's Introduction," xlviii.

[78] Stowe MS, 23, 23; Grenville MS, 46, 47; Douglas, xlviii, xlix.

[79] The two instances of variation in the Grenville MS are found in the Stowe MS, 22; Grenville MS, 46; Douglas, xlix.

[80] Stowe MS, 33-35; Grenville MS, 71-75; Douglas, l-li, footnote.

Nonetheless, he makes all of the same types of editorial changes occurring in the previous two passages. As before Douglas inserted contextual information into the passage, such as the date of the encounter, which in the two manuscripts was indicated in the margins. He also replaced the word "Indians" with "Arathapescows." As discussed earlier in the section on the Stowe and Grenville MSS, Hearne had used this spelling only in his journals and drafts predating 1786; thus, the appearance of this spelling in Douglas' version further confirms that he copied the passages from the journal (or report) stage. He altered the verb tense in five places to reflect his own preferences, for the changes did not clarify or correct the text in any way. Douglas added the odd word here and there, this time with the intention to clarify the meaning of things Hearne tended to imply.[81] In one of these cases the variant corresponded to the Grenville MS but not, obviously, to the Stowe MS, which indicates again that the transcriber for the Stowe MS was perhaps less careful than the one for the Grenville MS. The most significant difference between the Douglas version and the two manuscripts took the form of missing words and phrases in the former. In the case of deletions, Douglas appeared to have deliberately edited out material that was redundant or not central to the story. For example, when Hearne described his first impression of the Dogrib woman, the manuscripts have recorded him as writing "seems not to have been in want of provisions, is now in good health & flesh." In contrast Douglas wrote only that she "was now in good health and flesh." Not only did he change the tense to reflect the past, which is typical of a revised journal account, he had eliminated the first part of the description, which was implied by the fact that she appeared healthy.[82] Douglas affirmed his editorial presence when he replaced words appearing in both the Grenville and Stowe MSS with those of his own preference. Once again, he made changes with the intent of clarifying things otherwise implied by Hearne as well as eliminating items Douglas felt would have confused his readers. Where the two manuscripts contained the phrase "their knives or maskatogans," Douglas replaced this with "their instruments." Elsewhere Douglas altered "they make their hatchets" to "those of her tribe making their hatchets." Within this category of variation occurred the only case where all three versions varied. The transcriber of the Stowe MS had written "the Indians to the East," whereas the copyist for the Grenville MS had "the natives to the East," and Douglas, "the nations to the East." In such a case it is not possible to discern which version most accurately represented the holograph, particularly since Hearne had used all three words in his letters and journals that have survived in the HBCA.

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[81] For example, Douglas altered "killed immediately" to "killed it immediately." See Stowe MS, 34; Grenville MS, 74; Douglas, li.

[82] Stowe MS, 33; Grenville MS, 72; Douglas, l.

Clearly, John Douglas substantially altered his version of Hearne's journal as compared to the copies represented by the Stowe and Grenville MSS. While maintaining most of the text, Douglas transformed the journal-like entries to more narrative-like descriptions, complete with full sentences and paragraphs. He changed the verb tense in many places to reflect the past tense. Given the nature of variation between the three versions of Hearne's third journal, Douglas's text least represents Hearne's original journal or report. Because the Stowe MS varied from both the Douglas and Grenville versions much more frequently than the Grenville MS did from the Stowe and Douglas versions, it appears that the Grenville MS may be slightly more accurate.

Draft Manuscripts

The four remaining versions of the Coppermine River narrative (three in Andrew "Graham's Observations," one in Umfreville's *The Present State of Hudson's Bay*) are examples of the third writing stage: draft manuscripts. At this point Hearne reworked the journal-like structure into a narrative. Gone are the formulaic entries and simple prose; Hearne replaced these elements with an expanded description of events that he presented in a writing style characteristic of his letters and policy statements. All four narrative versions stem from an attempt made by Hearne shortly after his return from the expedition to tell the story of the Chipewyan attack upon the Inuit along the Coppermine River. I will begin by discussing the versions appearing in the volumes of Graham's "Observations."

Evidence that Hearne began revising his notes and report into a narrative shortly after his return from the mines can be found in the collection of ten manuscript volumes of "Observations on Hudson's Bay" by Andrew Graham.[83] Written over a twenty-five year period, Graham used the volumes to reflect his interest concerning the operations of the fur trade, the characteristics and cultures of the Natives with whom the HBC interacted, as well as the physical and behavioural traits of local fauna. In addition, Graham included transcriptions of fellow fur traders' journals, such as those belonging to Matthew Cocking, Anthony Henday, and William Tomison.[84] The volumes contain many parallel sections, which Graham did purposely, in part because he intended a number of the volumes as gifts, and because he wanted to include his changing views on company affairs as well as his ever-increasing collection of new information and recent experiments.[85] Glyndwr Williams, editor of a representative volume from Graham's collection, described the challenges of working with "Observations:"

> Some of Graham's entries are repeated from volume to volume...but others differ in length and content according to the date of writing. A short paragraph in one volume may swell to several pages in a later; new information appears and disappears; revisions are made, and then apparently unmade; some of the volumes are dated, others not. In brief, the editorial problems involved in the publication of Graham's 'Observations' are considerable.[86]

Barbara Belyea's work on the different versions of HBC employee Anthony Henday's journal, three of which are in Graham's "Observations," illustrates the difficulty of discerning Graham's influence upon the manuscript in his various roles as compiler, transcriber, and editor. Graham initially acquired Henday's journal after the explorer's return in 1755. Chief Factor James Isham of York Factory had ordered Graham to make a report of Henday's journey for the London Committee.[87] Graham later recopied Henday's journal into three of his volumes of "Observations," and, according to Belyea, each version contains significant variants.[88] She concluded that in transcribing Henday's journal, Graham undoubtedly altered the wording from the explorer's notes, but that "the nature and extent of this involvement is difficult to define."[89] Williams' and Belyea's remarks hold true for Graham's use of the Coppermine River material. Not only did Graham include a draft narrative of the attack upon the Inuit in three of the volumes, he also paraphrased a description of the attack based on a combination of Hearne's journal and the draft manuscript in two of the volumes.

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[83] The volumes are held in the HBCA and are catalogued as E.2/4-13.

[84] See Belyea, *A Year Inland*, 17; Williams, *Graham's Observations*, 350, 358.

[85] For example, Graham intended the volume catalogued as E.2/7 as a gift to Robert Merry, who was at that time Deputy Governor of the HBC. Graham presented another volume (E.2/8) to James FitzGerald, who sat on the London Committee between November 1767 and November 1778. See Williams, *Graham's Observations*, 353, 354.

[86] Williams, "Preface," *Graham's Observations*, ix.

In volumes E.2/10 and E.2/13 there is a paragraph, for the most part in Graham's own words, that relates the results of Hearne's trip to the copper mines and briefly describes the Chipewyan attack upon the Inuit.[90] The passages are written in two different hands; the one in E.2/10 is in an unidentified hand, and the E.2/13 passage is in Thomas Hutchins' handwriting.[91] The greatest amount of variation between the two passages derived from capitalization and punctuation. There was only one spelling difference; Cocking wrote "murder" where Hutchins wrote "murther." There were two examples of word replacement; the E.2/10 passage had "aged" in place of "ancient" and "the" in place of "these." The only other variation took the form of phrase reversal; where Cocking had transcribed "30 of the innocent People in cold blood," Hutchins put down "in cold blood 30 of these innocent People."

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[87] Belyea, *Inland*, 16. The report is catalogued as B.239/a/40.

[88] Belyea, *Inland*, 21. She found that "the four extant texts are rife with differences and contradictions." Furthermore, she was not able to tell whether Graham made the versions in "Observations" from his earlier report or whether he used Henday's original notes.

[89] Belyea, *Inland*, 20. She conducted a textual analysis of the four manuscript versions of Henday's journal in the HBCA, three of which are in the collection of Graham's volumes of "Observations."

[90] HBCA E.2/10 p 143; E.2/13 p 247. I will use the passage in E.2/10 for comparison to versions of the Coppermine River narrative. Unless I have noted otherwise, any differences between these two copies are limited to capitalization and punctuation.

[91] While Williams only could be sure that the handwriting in E.2/10 was not Graham's, Belyea maintained that the entire volume was in Cocking's hand. See Williams, *Observations*, 356; Belyea, *Inland*, 32, endnote 8. As far as I can tell based on a comparison of the handwriting in Cocking's inland journal and in the York Post journal during Cocking's time there as writer, she is correct. The E.2/13 volume contains a variety

Graham composed the passage himself, but it was based upon information taken jointly from Hearne's journal, the draft manuscript of events along the Coppermine River, and conversations with Hearne. That Graham composed the passage is indicated by the presence of words that Hearne himself never used in any of his journals, letters, or versions of the Coppermine River narrative. For example Graham used the words "salutary" and "laudable" to describe Hearne's efforts to dissuade the Chipewyan from attack: "by his Salutary and laudable advice, could not prevail on Indian barbarity." Clearly Graham had paraphrased the section from the draft manuscript where Hearne claimed that he had "used my best arguments and endeavoured to perswade them from putting their design in execution; but to no purpose."[92] Proof that Graham read the journal is found in a description of Hearne's findings, in which he also recounts the attack scene. The description contains a phrase that is in the journal but not in the draft manuscript. When Hearne related in his journal how the Chipewyan had shot a man in the leg, he then suggested that this act had "only served to freshen his way."[93] It is a

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of handwriting. According to Williams most of the volume was transcribed by Thomas Hutchins, with the exception of pages 249 to 257, which he believed to be in Graham's hand. The placement of the passage means it is in Hutchins' hand. See Williams, *Observations*, 361. Cocking and Hutchins were HBC employees at the same time as Graham and Hearne.

[92] HBCA E.2/13 pp 247 (the description), 252 (the draft narrative). Neither phrase appears in the journal or published account.

[93] The phrase appears after the Chipewyan have completed the first assault and in reference to a man who was shot in the leg. This section in the journal reads "while they [the Inuit] were embarking the Indians fired a great many shot at them & tho' not above 80 yards across at that part did no other damage than shooting one man thro' the calf of

somewhat strange phrase, in part because it does not make sense. Therefore it is unlikely that someone else would have manufactured the same phrase on their own to use in this specific instance. When the phrase, slightly altered to "freshen their way," appears in Graham's version of the matching event, and not in the draft narrative, it is reasonable to assume that Graham must have borrowed it from Hearne's journal.[94] Graham reported in his description that fifty Chipewyan had participated in the attack. He appears to have taken this figure from the journal, but he misread the context, for Hearne had meant that fifty additional Chipewyan joined the group, not fifty in total. Furthermore, Hearne noted that as they neared the river various numbers of Chipewyan, from a few to nearly half the group, deserted the expedition. In the draft manuscript Hearne proceeded to state that "between Seventy and Eighty Stout Fellows" joined the party at Clowey Lake.[95] But there are other indications that Graham also obtained information from Hearne verbally and from the draft manuscript. For example, Graham noted that the most northerly observation Hearne took was in Latitude 71° 54' N. This observation is absent from both the journal and the draft manuscript. Hearne explained that he could not take an observation the day he was at the mouth of the Coppermine because it was raining and foggy; instead, he was forced to approximate the latitude based on his calculations for the distances he had travelled each day since his last observation at Congecathawhachaga in early July.[96] Either Graham fabricated the observation or he asked Hearne to give his best estimate of the approximate latitude. Proof that Graham also had access to Hearne's draft manuscript at the time is indicated in Graham's claim that the Chipewyan killed 30 Inuit in this description. He could not have found this figure in the journal, for there Hearne

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his leg which only served to freshen his way." Entry for 16 July 1771, Stowe MS, p 21.

[94] In all three copies of the draft narrative the phrase has been dropped.

[95] E.2/10 p 143 (description); Stowe MS, p 15 (journal); E.2/13 p 252 (draft).

[96] In each case I have cited the page where the last observation appears and then Hearne's explanation why he did not take another observation at the Coppermine River. See Stowe MS, pp 15, 23; Grenville MS, pp 29, 46-47; *A Journey*, 84, 106.

reported: "they ran on the tent on a sudden & killed every soul before they had power to rise in the whole 21 persons." However, in the draft manuscript Hearne wrote "[t]hey soon fell a sacrifice to Indian fury. Every Soul, Men, Women and Children in all thirty."[97]

Volumes E.2/9, E.2/12, and E.2/13 contain a lengthier description (the draft manuscript), this time in Hearne's words, covering selected events from his journey from May 1771 to the end of July 1771.[98] It is written as a short story, beginning with Hearne's departure from Clowey Lake, where he and his Chipewyan companions had been joined by 50 other Chipewyans who wanted only to kill Inuit, and culminating with the attack. The story is followed by a description of the land about the Coppermine River, also composed by Hearne, in which he noted that he found some copper, and another paragraph on the Copper Indians. Hearne authored yet another paragraph, this one on the Alarm Bird, in which he explained his surprise that the bird had not warned the Inuit of the approaching Chipewyan. It also contained his description of the midnight sun.[99] According to Belyea, parts of the E.2/9 volume are also in the hand of Matthew Cocking, who was then second-in-command at York, but the section containing the Hearne narrative differs from all examples of Cocking's handwriting I could find in the HBCA. The version in E.2/12 was transcribed by Graham. The third copy, cataloged as E.2/13, is in Graham's handwriting with the exception of the Alarm Bird paragraph which matches the handwriting of the Hearne excerpt in E.2/9. Both the E.2/9 excerpt and the section in E.2/13 contain backward "e"s, a trademark of Hearne's handwriting, but in some other aspects the handwriting differed from the explorer's.[100]

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[97] Stowe MS, 20; HBCA E.2/13 p 255. Interestingly in *A Journey* the number of dead has been changed once more to "upwards of twenty," see p 99.

[98] There are many reasons to believe Hearne composed this description. Two of the copies attribute the description to Hearne in the title (E.2/9, 13), the third states that Hearne gave Graham "the following extract from his Journal." Two of the copies (E.2/9, 12) also frame the description with quotation marks.

[99] HBCA E.2/9 pp 259-63; E.2/12 pp 336-346; E.2/13 pp 252-257. In comparing the drafts in Graham's "Observations" to other versions of the narrative I will use E.2/13. Unless I have noted otherwise, any differences between the text in E.2/13 and the other two copies are limited to capitalization and punctuation.

All three copies contain the same version of events, but there are many variations among them. While E.2/9 and E.2/13 begin with the same title, "M^r. Samuel Hearne's Account of the Massacre of the Esquimaux..., " Graham replaced the title in the E.2/12 version with a preface. Here Graham claims that he received the text directly from Hearne, now elevated from an artist to a "young Gentleman." He also inserted an additional observation of Latitude 71° 54' N, citing that it represented the location of the mouth of the Coppermine River. This is the same observation he used in the two copies of the passage he composed about Hearne in E.2/10 and E.2/13. As with the copyists for the Stowe and Grenville manuscripts, here the transcribers have inserted their own capitalization and punctuation preferences. These preferences varied with the moment of transcription, for even when the same person made the copy, there still was frequent variation in these two areas.

However, there were different types, or qualities, of variation among the three copies, which led me to believe that the copies varied in their adherence to Hearne's original draft manuscript. In E.2/9 there are words added to the text (or missing from both of the other two copies) but in no case did these changes affect the meaning of the phrase. For example, where the other two texts had "of sleep" and "nigh me," E.2/9 had "of a sleep" and "nigh to me." In E.2/13, all copied by Graham except for the Alarm Bird paragraph, there are similar alterations; he replaced "in low grounds" with "in the low grounds." Other variations here slightly changed the meaning of the text, such as where E.2/9 and 12 had "they could" this copy had "they possibly could." By far the most frequent and substantive variations occurred in the E.2/12 copy made by Graham.[101] Not only does this copy contain added punctuation, rather than replacing a colon by a semicolon as was more typical of these types of variation, it contains different words, additional phrases, and deleted phrases, all of which appear to be intentional instead of accidental. In many cases Graham replaced neutral terminology with descriptions that evoked a heightened sense of horror stemming from the attack scene; for example, "Fellows," "Esquimays [Esquimaux]," and "Indians," are transformed into "Bloody Savages," "poor creatures," and "Cruel Murtherers." Where before the Chipewyan were "fireing [firing] their Guns [guns]" they now were "discharging their fowling-piece." The three men sent ahead to scout out the Inuit camp became "three Natives expert men." The fatally wounded Inuit girl no longer merely twined around the spear; she was "twining & twisting." [102] None of these additions survive in *A Journey*. Their absence is further proof that the E.2/12 version is not a copy of a second attempt by Hearne to retell the story; rather, it represents changes made independently by Graham himself. Thus when Glyndwr Williams chose the E.2/12 version of the Coppermine River narrative for inclusion in the publication of *Graham's Observations*, he selected the copy least representative of Hearne's original draft manuscript.[103]

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[100] Williams maintains that most of the material in the E.2/9 volume was copied by Hutchins; however the handwriting for the Hearne narrative differs substantially. It matches that belonging to the passage in E.2/10 and a portion of the narrative excerpt in E.2/13. Williams identified the handwriting in E.2/12 as Graham's. It also matches handwriting identified by Belyea as belonging to Graham. While Williams correctly identified the copyist of the narrative in E.2/13 as Graham, he overlooked the change in hand that occurred on page 247. I was able to rule out the following people as writers of the E.2/9 and related sections: Matthew Cocking, Edward Umfreville, Thomas Hutchins, Andrew Graham, and Samuel Hearne. Though the handwriting is somewhat similar to Cocking's, I could not find any other example in documents clearly written by Cocking, where he used a backward "e." Nor did the handwriting match the writers for Churchill, York, or Severn. Indeed, Hearne's handwriting most closely matched that of the unidentified copyist, but it was not an exact match. Williams, *Observations*, 355, 359, 361; Belyea, *Inland*, 32, footnote 8, and plates 1,2, 4.

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[101] Barbara Belyea found evidence that Graham deliberately condensed and altered the extracts of journals he included in this particular volume. She cited his belief that "the accounts given us by the men sent inland (Anthony Henday and William Tomison excepted) were incoherent and unintelligible." See Belyea, *A Year Inland*, 382; cited from HBCA E.2/12, p 648. While it is not certain whether Graham meant to include Hearne in this group of winterers, there is no reason to believe that Graham treated Hearne's draft manuscript any differently.

[102] The words in square brackets represent variations in E.2/13. The absence of brackets indicates that E.2/9 and 13 match.

[103] Ian MacLaren, who publicized the presence of the Coppermine River narrative in Graham's collection, also used this version of the text. See "Notes on Samuel Hearne's

The exact details surrounding the genesis of Hearne's draft is difficult to ascertain since Hearne left no direct indication when he sat down to compose the story or when he decided to share it with Graham. Similarly, Graham does not indicate exactly when or where he received the draft manuscript, or whether Graham transcribed a copy directly from Hearne's manuscript into one of the "Observations" volumes or received his own secondary copy to be transferred into the volume as his own leisure. Graham does not indicate into which volume he first transcribed the narrative, or how soon thereafter he made (or had others make) the copies.

Glyndwr Williams maintained that Graham collected the material in volume E.2/9 by 1772, but Belyea's identification of Matthew Cocking's journal of 1772-73 as part of this volume indicates that Graham continued collection for some time afterwards.[104] This early version of the Coppermine River narrative is the last item in E.2/9, followed by an appendix. It is written onto a gathering of five sheets, sewn down the middle, that is framed by a description of the crow in Thomas Hutchins' hand (then surgeon at York) and a reference to the building of Hudson House in 1772 that is in Andrew Graham's hand.[105] The handwriting of the narrative is unidentified and matches the portion of the narrative in E.2/13 that is in a hand other than Graham's. While the identity of the copyist remains unknown, it is impossible to reconstruct precisely when or how Hearne's narrative appeared in this volume of "Observations."

The entire E.2/12 volume is in Graham's handwriting, so he could have written it even after his return to Britain.[106] Indeed, Williams found the date 8 February 1791 inscribed into the volume. While most of the material in the first two-thirds of the volume

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Journey," 40, endnote 6.

[104] Williams, *Observations*, 355; Belyea, *Inland*, 32, footnote 8.

[105] Judith Hudson Beattie, Keeper of the HBCA, correspondence with me dated 28 November 2000.

[106] Williams, *Observations*, 359. Graham retired to Scotland where he remained until his death in 1815. Williams, "Graham," 362.

is a copy of items from E.2/9, which Williams believed was written in the early 1770s, Graham added comments to the text which reflect on events and books deriving from the 1780s. Because this volume contains second-generation copies of Graham's own commentary, any remarks he made within the text of this material that could be used to date it, such as "two years ago," are of no use since the comments apply to when Graham first made the copy. Williams concluded that Graham finished adding material to this volume around 1791, and then bound it sometime before delivering it to the London Committee of the HBC in 1793.[107] However, it is only in this volume that Graham wrote a preface to the Coppermine River narrative. In it he describes Hearne as a "young Gentleman." As Hearne was twenty-seven when he returned from the mines, Graham's comment indicates that he copied the narrative and wrote the preface closer to the time of Hearne's return than when Graham added the next round of material in the 1780s or certainly before Graham bound the volumes in 1791. By that time Hearne was forty-six, and a portrait done of him after his arrival in London in 1787 portrays him as anything but young.[108]

Most of the narrative in E.2/13 is also in Graham's handwriting, with the exception of the Alarm Bird section. Here the handwriting matches that found in E.2/9. Williams believed that Graham composed a section of this volume concerning the northern trade, for which Graham included Hearne's narrative as supporting evidence, during his stay at Churchill from March 1774 until his retirement from Rupert's Land in August 1775.

In all three cases, the evidence points to a period commencing sometime after the beginning of 1773 and most likely before the fall of 1775 as the time when Graham (and the unknown copyist) transcribed Hearne's narrative in to the volumes of "Observations." Based on this theoretical timeframe, Hearne must have composed the original draft manuscript prior to Graham's departure. Furthermore, if Graham's assertion that Hearne personally gave him a copy or access to the Coppermine River journals and Hearne's narrative holds true (as he stated in his preface to the E.2/12 version), then the means by which Graham acquired the manuscript is also limited. Circumstantial evidence from the York, Churchill, Severn, and Cumberland post journals points to three possible periods during which Hearne could have composed the draft narrative, two of which correspond to the only times in Rupert's Land that he spent in the company of Graham.[109]

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[107] Williams, *Observations*, 359.

[108] The portrait has been reproduced at the beginning of *A Journey*, both the 1795 edition and Glover's 1958 edition.

After Hearne returned from the mines on 30 June 1772 and until that fall, Chief Factor Moses Norton declined to send him out on his usual chores of whaling, hunting, and gathering wood. Hearne himself does not describe how he used this time. It is certain that Hearne spent some of this time making the report on his journey for the London Committee, as well as preparing the map outlining his route. It is probable that he also used some of this time to recuperate.[110] It appears Hearne had time to rework his journals into a narrative at this point also. When he arrived at York in September 1773, Chief Factor Ferdinand Jacobs kept him busy throughout the fall and winter of 1773, with most of his time being spent away from the post in small camps. Beginning in December 1773, Hearne resided at the post until he volunteered to deliver the mail to Severn in January 1774.[111] The only task assigned to him during that period was to assist Jacobs and Matthew Cocking with packing trade goods for the upcoming inland expedition. Hearne would have had time to have written the draft here too. It took Hearne just three days to make a round-trip of delivering the mail to Severn and then another three days after that, Jacobs instructed Hearne to return once more to Severn, this time to escort Graham to

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[109] It is not known if Graham and Hearne met when Hearne returned involuntarily to London in 1782 or after he retired from the HBC in 1787. Furthermore, it is not known if the two men carried on a correspondence after Graham retired in 1775 and while Hearne remained in the service of the HBC. The HBC did not make copies of private correspondence.

[110] Details from Hearne's life, as well as the development of a motive for publishing *A Journey*, are explored in Chapter 6.

[111] HBCA B.239/a/70 fos 2, 6d, 11d, 13, 17 York Factory Post Journal, 1 September, 7 October, 27 November, and 7 December 1773, 13 January 1774.

York. This time it was nearly a month before Hearne returned to York.[112] The last block of apparent free time Hearne enjoyed before parting ways with Graham occurred at Churchill between early March and early April 1774.[113] Aside from guiding Graham through the warehouse and discussing Hearne's upcoming inland expedition, there is no documented explanation for how Hearne occupied himself. Therefore, based on this circumstantial evidence, the most likely periods Hearne wrote the draft consist of the summer of 1772 or during the early winter of 1773-74. The means by which Graham acquired the draft and viewed the journal (which he used to write the descriptive passage) fit into this explanation.

Though there is a considerable degree of uncertainty remaining concerning the genesis of this version of the Coppermine River narrative, particular aspects of the provenance and nature of these documents are confirmed. First, the end-dates for Graham's "Observations" do not reflect the moment Graham and others transcribed the Hearne's narrative into the volumes of "Observations." Thus, the dates I had originally ascribed to the three appearances of Hearne's narrative in "Observations" (1775 for E.2/13, 1791 for E.2/12, and 1793 for E.2/9) are misleading; it would be more accurate to assign an approximate range of 1774 through 1776 as the probable time of transcription for all three volumes. It follows that Hearne would have written this draft between June of 1772 (his return from the copper mines) and the first part of 1774. Second, while all three versions contain the same information, there is a significant degree of variation among them, most notably in the E.2/12 version where Graham has deliberately edited the narrative to create a heightened sense of horror at the attack.

The fourth version of the draft narrative is located in Edward Umfreville's *The*

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[112] HBCA B.239/a/70 fos 17, 17d, 18, York Factory Post Journal, 13, 16, and 19 January 1774. Strangely the dates of Hearne's visits do not correspond with those listed in the Severn Post Journal. See HBCA B.198/a/18 fo's 16d-17, 18d, 1 and 5 February 1774.

[113] HBCA B.239/a/70 fos 21d, 22d, York Factory Post Journal, 16 and 24 February 1774; B.42/a/88 fos 14, 16, Churchill Post Journal, 3 March and 5 April 1774.

Present State of Hudson's Bay (1790). E.E. Rich, who wrote the biography of him in the *DCB*, believed that Umfreville had plagiarized most of the contents of the book from Andrew Graham's "Observations," which may explain how the Hearne excerpt came to exist in this book. Umfreville had worked in Rupert's Land for the HBC for nearly twenty years and at roughly during the same period as Hearne. The HBC hired Umfreville as a writer in 1771 and sent him to York Factory, but he was transferred to Severn House shortly after his arrival. Andrew Graham was Master of the post at that time, and, according to Rich, was impressed with Umfreville's abilities.[114] Umfreville would have met Hearne in the winter of 1773-74 when the explorer delivered the mail packet to Severn, and then stayed there for a month. Since this was also the time when Graham was working on the volumes that now contain the Hearne excerpt, it may be that Graham had Umfreville, the writer, help with some of the composition. Umfreville himself provides no indication when he first acquired the motivation to write this book or the means by which he gained access to Graham's "Observations." Umfreville quit the HBC in 1783 and subsequently wrote to local London newspapers letters that were critical of his former employer. Umfreville and the HBC disagreed once more in 1789 when Umfreville wished to rejoin the company but could not agree with the London Committee on a fair salary.[115] It is possible that Umfreville had access to some of the "Observations" volumes while at the HBC headquarters in London during parts of 1782 and 1783, but it also appears that Graham retained possession of the volumes containing the Hearne excerpt at this time. Thus, Umfreville's presence at Severn during the month that Hearne visited is suggestive in explaining the origin of the Coppermine River excerpt in his book, but there is no direct evidence to support such a claim.

Though Umfreville's book was published in 1790, the Hearne excerpt resembles the account used in Graham's "Observations." Umfreville's excerpt consists only of the attack scene, but Umfreville considerably revised the excerpt, deleting series of phrases and rearranging others. Nonetheless, it is clear that this excerpt shares an ancestor with the three excerpts in "Observations" because of the high degree of correspondence between the remaining matching phrases. When the Umfreville excerpt is compared, word for word, with the "Observations" excerpts it is clear that Umfreville based his excerpt on the E.2/13 version.

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[114] E.E. Rich, "Umfreville, Edward," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4 (1979), 742-43.

[115] Rich, "Umfreville," 743.

As with all of the other narrative versions, the Umfreville excerpt varied of its own accord with respect to punctuation and capitalization. It is impossible to tell how many of these variants could be attributed to Umfreville or to his publisher/editor. The latter in particular may have elected to alter the excerpt to meet the standards applied to the rest of the volume for these two elements. Clues to the origins of the excerpt lie in the different, missing, and added words. In no case did the variation in wording match the E.2/9 version. In key differences between the E.2/13 and 12 versions, both made by Graham, the Umfreville excerpt does not contain the E.2/12 variants. For example, where E.2/9 and 13 had "fireing their Guns," E.2/12 had "discharging their fowling-piece."[116] It is highly improbable that if Umfreville had copied from the E.2/12 version that he would have spontaneously edited that phrase back to "fireing their Guns" on his own. Similarly, where E.2/12 had "Bloody Savages" in place of "Fellows," Umfreville also had "Fellows."[117] Where E.2/13 varied from both of the other versions in "Observations," the Umfreville version also carried this variant. For example, where E.2/9 had "when the first Spear she fell down," E.2/12 had "when the first spear struck her," and both E.2/13 and Umfreville had "when the first spear was struck into her." Similarly, whereas both E.2/9 and 12 had "they run both their Spears through her," E.2/13 and Umfreville had "they had run both their spears through her."[118]

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[116] I have presented the version in E.2/9 in the body of the text. The E.2/13 version had "firing their guns" which in fact matched the Umfreville version exactly with regard to the different spelling of "firing" and lower-casing the "g" in "guns."

[117] Here E.2/9 and 13 agree totally.

[118] E.2/12 varies from E.2/9 by replacing "Spear" with "spear."

While this evidence certainly points toward E.2/13 as the direct ancestor of the Umfreville excerpt, the latter contains its own unique variants, perhaps the most substantial of any of the versions. Solely in this version did Umfreville, or his publisher/editor, change the spelling of "perswade," which reflected Hearne's preference, to "persuade." There are frequent revisions of small groups of words: "for instead of having" became "for, instead of my advice having" and "Their Implements of War" became "Our war implements."[119] In the Umfreville version are words that do not appear in any of Hearne's letters or journals: "turn'd to Cowardice" became "imputed to cowardice" and "determined no less then a total Massacre" became "portended no less than a total massacre."[120] An example of a passage transformed in the Umfreville version occurs during the description of the initial ambush. It provides a good indication of the nature of revision applied to the narrative. I have reproduced the text as it appeared in the E.2/9 version, with footnotes for differences appearing in E.2/12 and 13. [121] This passage is followed by the corresponding description in Umfreville:

> ...unless kind providence should work a miracle for their deliverence; - The land was so situated that we walked under the Cover of the Hills till within two Hundred Yards of their tents: where they lay some time in ambush watching the motions of the Esquimaux; for we were for we were within full sight of the tents) The Northern Indians would have advised me to stay there till the fight was over; to which I would by no means comply for I thought when the Esquimays were surprised they would fly to all Quarters for refuge and if they should find me alone, not knowing me from an Enemy, may lay hands on me and no one to assist; I was determined to accompany them; at the same time telling I would have no hand in the murder unless I found it necessary for my own safety; They seem'd highly pleas'd at my proposal and directly fixed a Spear and Bayonet for me but I had no Target; by the time this was all settled it was about one o'Clock in the morning; They finding all asleep in the tents ran on them without being

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[119] E.2/12 and 13 lowercase the "I" and E.2/12 also lower-cases the "W."

[120] E.2/13 has "turned" and E.2/12 lower-cases the "c" in "Cowardice." E.2/13 changed "then" to "than."

[121] I have not reproduced the line breaks or the backwards e's. I have inserted superscripted words into the main body of the text.

> discover'd till close to the very Doors: they then began the cruel Massacre and myself standing neuter in the rear. - In a few Seconds a scene truly Shocking presented itself to my View, for as the poor unhappy Victims were surprized in the midst of a Sleep they had neither power or time to make any resistance but men Women and Children ran out of their tents stark naked: but where could they fly for Shelter:[122]

> ...unless kind Providence should work a miracle in their favour. It was about ten o'clock in the morning, when they made their attack upon their unhappy enemies, whom they found fast asleep. In a few minutes the havock was begun, myself standing neuter in the rear. Presently a scene, truly shocking, presented itself to my view; for as the Esquimaux were surprized at a time when they thought themselves in midst of security, they had neither power nor time to make any resistance. Men, women and children ran out of the tents stark naked; but where could they fly for shelter?[123]

Aside from the significant changes in wording, Umfreville (or his publisher/editor) also altered the time of day when the attack occurred from 1 a.m. to 10 a.m. Here it seems likely that the publisher or editor was responsible for the change because Umfreville, with his long career in Rupert's Land, certainly would have been aware of the midnight sun. With such changes one might wonder whether the Umfreville version represents another one of Hearne's drafts, composed at a later date. But the matching section in *A Journey* generally follows the draft represented in "Observations." It contains the description of the land and has the ambush occurring at 1 a.m.[124]

While it is impossible to tell to what degree the four surviving representatives of Hearne's draft narrative correspond to the draft in his own hand, is possible to discern that some of texts more closely represent Hearne's draft than others. The E.2/9 and E.2/13 versions, each with its own peculiarities, contain the least substantive variations in spite of the fact that they were made by different people. Both appear to have been independently copied from the original draft or some intermediary copy. E.2/12, the second of Graham's own transcriptions, contains unique variants in wording that can only be explained by Graham's intent to alter the manuscript. It is not possible to say whether he made this copy from the E.2/13 version or from Hearne's original manuscript. The Umfreville version appears to have been based upon E.2/13, for it contains some of the same variants that were otherwise unique to E.2/13. It is also the least faithful to Hearne's original draft manuscript, since some of the substantial variations in the text can be ascribed only to Umfreville and/or his publisher and editor.

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[122] I will only note the differences in wording in E.2/12 and 13, not punctuation and capitalization. With regard to the latter, E.2/12 and 13 tended to have lowercase letters and inserted additional punctuation. Where E.2/9 repeats "for we were" the other two have the phrase just once. E.2/12 deletes "Northern" from "Northern Indians." E.2/12 replaces "thought when" with "considered that." E.2/12 and 13 replace "Esquimays" with "Esquimaux." E.2/12 replaces "murder" with "murther." E.2/12 adds in "I" ahead of "myself" and "of time" after "Seconds."

[123] Umfreville, 49.

[124] *A Journey* (1958), 98.

There are a number of points arising from this bibliographic analysis. First, the popular belief that La Pérouse prompted Hearne to rework the Coppermine River journals into a book worthy of publication requires correction. The timing for the appearance of the excerpt in three volumes of Graham's "Observations," means that Hearne had to have begun revising his journals long before La Pérouse had Churchill within his sights. From the bibliographic evidence alone, one is unable to suggest who was responsible for the substantial differences among the surviving narrative excerpts and *A Journey*. By comparing all of the surviving versions to each other, as well as to Hearne's writing preferences as derived from the collection of letters and journals in his handwriting, not one of the versions appears to be exempt from the influence of the transcriber. Thus, none of them is precise reproductions of Hearne's original journals or draft narrative. However, the process of comparison identified some of these copies as significantly less representative of the holograph journal (or report) and draft narrative. As the excerpts in two pamphlets by Alexander Dalrymple are the only known versions representative of the second journal (or report), other than noting how these excerpts differed from the corresponding sections in *A Journey*, it is difficult to say how accurately Dalrymple copied Hearne's text. The transcribers of the Stowe and Grenville MSS both made changes to the text. By comparing these versions to *A Journey*, it appeared that in some places the

Stowe MS adhered more closely to Hearne's original, and in other places this privilege belonged to the Grenville MS. Both transcribers made different kinds of changes to the text. Taken as a whole neither one of these versions stands out as more representative of the holograph. The excerpt reprinted by Douglas in Cook's *Voyages* shares the same base-text as these two manuscripts but contains significant departures in wording from them, thus making it the least representative account of Hearne's third attempt. Of the four versions of Hearne's draft narrative, the Umfreville version, which was based upon the text in E.2/13, is the least representative of Hearne's original wording, and is followed by the E.2/12 manuscript in Graham's handwriting. As with the Stowe and Grenville MSS, the E.2/9 and E.2/13 versions each contain unique variants and both appear to have been copied independently from the same base-text. Overall, the bibliographic evidence supplied by these transcriptions and pre-1795 published excerpts indicates that Hearne made an effort to rework the journal into a narrative. We also know, based on evidence supplied in Chapter Four, that Hearne possessed the ability to revise his writing from a journal-like style into the prose found in the published version. Whether or not Hearne continued to revise the narrative beyond what he did in "Observations" is explored in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER 6

OPPORTUNITIES TO COMPOSE: APPLYING THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO RECONSTRUCT SAMUEL HEARNE'S WRITING PROCESS FOR THE COPPERMINE RIVER NARRATIVE

Biography is often relegated to the role of colourful and entertaining commentary, but it can be, and should be, treated as a legitimate and serious scholarly enterprise. In terms of resolving Hearne's role in the production of *A Journey*, a biographical study of Hearne helps to reveal when and where Hearne worked on the composition of the Coppermine River narrative.

Though seemingly straightforward in intent and method, the biographical approach has its critics. Barbara Belyea addressed the problematic use of biography as part of her work on David Thompson's Columbia River journals. Her main criticism of previous scholars' attempts to understand these texts revolved around their reliance upon the text to establish the fur trader's personality and abilities. For example, Victor Hopwood, Richard Glover, and J.B. Tyrrell used Thompson's *Travels* manuscripts to demonstrate that he was a master storyteller, as well as a sensitive and spiritual man. She is critical particularly of Richard Glover's and J.B. Tyrrell's portrayal of Thompson:

> [they] shared a weakness for excessively interpreting and historicizing the text they edited. Tyrrell constructed a moral persona, and Glover believed he could recount "what actually happened." Both editors were eager to post and answer historical questions before they had recognized to what extent formal, textual considerations should have limited their speculation...To focus on a supratextual identity - "the man Thompson himself" - is to overlook the real editorial issues: the textual determination of authorial persona, and the kind of information that each kind of text can be expected to provide.[1]

By "each kind of text" she was referring to Thompson's journals and the four manuscript versions of his narrative. She argued that they had created Thompson's character solely from their personal impressions of his compositions:

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[1] Barbara Belyea, "Introduction," *Columbia Journals: David Thompson* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), xv-xvi.

> These editors, and the historians who followed their lead, tried to invent a single, consistent character rather than contenting themselves with the separate authorial masks presented in each text. Almost nothing is known of Thompson apart from the documents he himself produced. That "the man Thompson himself" is so obviously an interpretive tautology, a figure derived from the documents in order to explain them, should serve as a caution to any editor bent on biographical explanation and/or historical reconstruction.[2]

Instead, Belyea believed that a comparative analysis of textual variants produced a more reliable and accurate estimation of Thompson's writing process.[3]

Though Belyea was reluctant to utilize the biographical approach, there is sufficient merit for its continued usage. Analysis of Samuel Hearne's life yields pertinent information relating to the production of the Coppermine River narrative. The research conundrum which drove Belyea was based upon finding the best way to present the full range of Thompson's work deriving from the years he was stationed in the Columbia River District. There is no question of Thompson's authorship or his ability to have composed the documents attributed to him. This is not the case with *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* where the nature of Hearne's role is debated.

Indeed, William E. Moreau successfully challenged Belyea's criticisms of the biographical approach in his doctoral dissertation on David Thompson's *Travels*. Moreau was interested in studying the origin and evolution of the text as it developed from Thompson's journal-type entries to the more descriptive, emotive, and elaborate narrative forms.[4] Contrary to Belyea, Moreau believed that an accurate and thorough bibliographic study of the structure and sequence of the narrative variants needed to include a biographical study of Thompson, but one that was limited to explaining the conditions under which Thompson laboured to produce his narrative manuscripts.[5] Moreau suggested that the primary problem with past studies of Thompson's writings (as edited by Tyrrell, Glover, and Hopwood) "is reflected in the bibliographical and biographical gaps that remain in the published record on Thompson; the manuscript has never been fully or accurately described, and the record of Thompson's life during the years of its [Travels] composition, 1846-1850, is sketchy at best."[6] Used in this way, biography can aid the reconstruction of the writing process for a body of work.

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[2] Belyea, *Columbia Journals*, xvii.

[3] Belyea, *Columbia Journals*, xx, xxii. She maintains the privilege of bibliography over biography in her most recent work *A Year Inland: The Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2000), 22-23.

[4] William E. Moreau, "David Thompson's Writing of His Travels: The Genetics of an Emerging Exploration Text" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1997), 9.

The biography presented here is selective; it is a synopsis of Hearne's life as it relates specifically to the conditions of textual transformation of the Coppermine River narrative into *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*.[7] It is my aim to illuminate the times he worked on his account, the availability of a proper working environment, and the sources that motivated him to rework the narrative. I assumed that conceptualizing, writing, and editing are activities that consume considerable blocks of time and therefore I searched for times when Hearne was not preoccupied with HBC business and thus potentially free to work on his personal project. I also presumed that to work on the narrative Hearne required writing tools such as paper, and, ideally, a table and chair. Therefore, I searched for evidence that Hearne had access to these items or had requested any of them. Glyndwr Williams also used these measures in his study of the writing process undertaken for "Observations on Hudson's Bay" by Andrew Graham: "[a]n endearing indication of the seriousness with which Graham intended to take his literary efforts during his spell in the more spacious quarters of York was given in a journal entry which shows that in the fall of 1771 he ordered the carpenter and smith to make him a writing desk."[8] Lastly, I assumed that Hearne had a motive for partaking in this project. Thus, I looked for events in his life which could have prompted him to reshape the text of his original journals.

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[5] Moreau, 31.

[6] Moreau, 8.

[7] Moreau describes these conditions as vital to understanding the work of the explorer in the process of composition, revision, emendation and editing. Moreau, 25.

[8] Glyndwr Williams, "Andrew Graham and Thomas Hutchins: Collaboration and Plagiarism in 18th-Century Natural History," *The Beaver* 308:4 (Spring 1978), 8; see also G. Williams, ed., *Andrew Graham's Observations* (1969), 342, cited from HBCA

After Samuel Hearne returned to Churchill from the copper mines in June 1772, Chief Factor Moses Norton granted the traveller a period of rest. According to the post journal all Hearne had to do that summer was to prepare his journal and maps for submission to the London Committee; otherwise, Hearne's name is absent from the daily journal entries until mid-August when he is listed as accompanying Captain Magnus Johnson to Sloop's Cove to survey the *Churchill* for damage.[9] It seemed that Hearne was expected to resume his seagoing role. In a rather strange letter, that was unlike his usual cheerful and compliant tone, Hearne bitterly addressed the London Committee on the subject of his future role in the company. He made it clear that in spite of the disappointing results, he still had succeeded in making a long and trying trek. He then audaciously suggested that he was forced into the job by Norton:

> Tho I emediatly comply.d with your Honours request in undertakeing the inland Journey; It ware so far from being my Perticular desire, as represented to you by Mr Norton when in England. that I Knew nothing of the affair tell I Receiv.d Your Letter of May 25th: 1769: for if I had known Mr Norton entended to have put such a Journey on foot and propos.d me to Exicute the same, I should have wrote some proposals to the board myself, and omitted that of Writeing to Succeed Mr Stevens. then Master of the Charlotte --[10]

This statement contradicts Hearne's own words written in an earlier letter and then later, reflectively, as part of the narrative.[11] It seems designed to elicit sympathy on the part of

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B.239/a/66 fo 10d.

[9] HBCA B.42/a/83 fo 88d, Churchill Post Journal, 16 August 1772.

[10] HBCA A.11/14 fos 174-174d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 28 August 1772.

[11] His claim rings false in light of his later claim that he did not need to be asked, let alone encouraged, to proceed on the three attempts, and the even more convincing earlier statement in which he himself stated that Norton "Propos'd to me the Year before he left this fort" Hearne's role in the expedition, meaning that Hearne knew about his future role

the London Committee. That said, he went on to reiterate his desire to leave whaling behind:

> ...considering the great improbility of the Black whale Fishery^{s}. ever proveing Successfull...[I] would rather be Employ.^{d} in some other branch of Your honours Trade...from a Natural likeing to Your honours service by Land, the Country, and the Natives in general . have embrac,d all opertunity,^{s} on that head, - and now flatter myself, Have made as great a Prograce therein as almost any Europian Resideing in these parts; - haveing had a great opertunity of acquainting myself with not only the Language but the manner customs &C [etc.] of the Indians in general to gether with the Nature and Situation of their several Countries: - therefore do flatter myself that if I ware Emplyd in some Principal station in the land service, may in time be of more use to the Company then if remaing in any of the Vessels...[12]

Whaling had haunted Hearne from his early days with the HBC (see Chapter 1). Though his manner of extricating himself from the sea-service was somewhat deceitful, he had good reasons for wanting a shift in career.

By this time, the committee seemed convinced that the black whale fishery could not be developed, stating "We now lay aside the Black Whale Fishery to the Northward;" nonetheless, they resolved instead to focus all the more heavily upon the beluga hunt in and around the Churchill River.[13] Thus, if Hearne stayed with the ships, he seemed bound to a secondary role in a task that no longer carried even a small prospect of exploration and trade. Furthermore, the committee's letter to Hearne for that season provided no indication of a plan for his future outside of whaling, despite their earlier promises to

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prior Norton's departure in the fall of 1768 to broach the plan to the London Committee. See HBCA A.11/14 fo 120, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Hearne, 29 August 1769 and in Hearne (1958), 38.

[12] HBCA A.11/14 fo 174d, letter from Samuel Hearne, 28 August 1772. The letter in its entirety continues on for one more page (fo 175).

[13] HBCA A.6/11 fo 149d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Moses Norton and Council from the London Committee, 13 May 1772.

consider him for land-service should the black whale fishery cease operating.[14] Given his clear expression of enjoyment in participating in land-based operations, it is little wonder that his 1772 letter to the London Committee expressed some frustration.

During the season of 1772-73, entries in the Churchill Post journal indicate that Moses Norton kept Hearne constantly labouring a good distance away from the fort. Hearne returned intermittently and briefly to Churchill for supplies, Sunday prayers, and probably Christmas and New Year's celebrations. Hearne hunted partridges and deer, collected wood, repaired ships, and then sailed on the annual northern trading voyage as mate to Captain Magnus Johnston.[15] But relief from this seemingly certain future was near at hand.

Unbeknownst to Hearne, during the previous spring the London Committee had decided to free Hearne from sea service, as they were apparently unoffended by the surly tone in his last letter. In a meeting on 27 May 1773 the committee resolved: "upon mature Deliberation...it was the Opinion of the Committee that it would be for the Advantage of the Companys Trade to establish a Settlement Inland at or near Basquiau and that M^{r} Samuel Hearne now at Prince of Wales Fort is a proper Person to take the Conduct thereof."[16] This new post would be Cumberland House. Furthermore, based on a meeting held in December 1772, they provided an additional prize: "We have maturely considered your great Assiduity on the various Accidents which occurred in your several Journeys. We hereby return You Our grateful Thanks and to manifest Our Obligation We have consented to allow you a Gratuity of Ⱡ200 for those Services."[17] This sum was nearly seven times his annual pay.[18] Though Hearne had waited over a year, he finally had received his rewards. It is arguable that he may have valued his promotion over the generous payment.

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[14] HBCA A.5/1 fo 143d, p 286, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC General, letter to Samuel Hearne from the London Committee, 13 May 1772.

[15] HBCA B.42/a/86 fos 3d, 4d, 6d, 7d-8, 13, 13d, 21d, 34, 36d, 42d, 45d, 46-50, 51, 52, 53d, 54d, 55, 56d, 58, 59, 62, 75, Churchill Post Journal 1772-73, 9, 14, 20, 23-25 September, 15, 17 to end of October, 24 November 1772, 11, 27 February, 8, 9, 27 April, 19, 24, 31 May, 6,7,10, 12, 14, 14, 21, 28 June, 3, 13 July, 26 August 1773; B.42/a/87 fo 27, *Charlotte* Brigantine Journal 1773, Hearne is mate on the crew list.

[16] HBCA A.1/44 fo 79d, London Committee Minute Book, entry for 26 May 1773.

On 27 August 1773 Samuel Hearne boarded the *Charlotte*, but this time as a passenger. Norton gave Hearne instructions to travel by ship to York, from where the experienced traveller was to launch the inland expedition.[19] He arrived at York on 1 September 1773; however, due to a shortage of both canoes and Cree guides Chief Factory Ferdinand Jacobs delayed the journey until the following spring.[20] In the meantime, Jacobs employed Hearne away from York hunting, fishing, felling and hauling wood. Hearne also spent a bit of time packing goods for the impending trip.[21]

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[17] HBCA A.5/1 fo 152 p 302-303, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to Samuel Hearne, 12 May 1773. The committee wrote a second and very similar letter to Hearne the same year, which contains essentially the same information. See A.6/11 fos 175d-76d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Samuel Hearne, 12 May 1773. Information on the committee's meeting can be found in A.1/44 fo 61, 23 December 1772.

[18] Hearne then received Ⱡ30 per year. See A.6/12 fo 9, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, Letter to Ferdinand Jacobs and Council, York, 1 May 1774.

[19] HBCA A.11/14 fo 204, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 26 August 1773. Norton believed York was the ideal starting point for the journey because nearby rivers offered a more direct route to the desired location along the Saskatchewan River. See B.239/b/33 fo 11, York Factory Correspondence Book, letter from Moses Norton to Ferdinand Jacobs, 21 August 1773.

[20] HBCA B.239/b/34 fos 3d, 4d, York Correspondence Book, letters from Ferdinand Jacobs to Moses Norton, 6 September 1773 and Norton to Jacobs, 15 September 1773. The same letter to Norton is also copied into B.42/b/20 fo 3d, Churchill Correspondence Book, 6 September 1773. Unlike the Chipewyan who tended to conduct their long distance travels when the waterways became frozen, the Cree who came to York preferred to travel by canoe and thus, with the exception of local Cree, most Cree limited their visits to York to open water seasons.

Given the presumably spartan living conditions away from both Churchill and York, it is unlikely that such a working environment was conducive to extensive writing. The men stayed together in temporary tents that afforded little privacy or personal space, both of which one would assume to be preferable writing conditions. To work on the journal Hearne would have required pen, ink, and paper - items which the HBC rationed. Since neither Norton nor Jacobs instructed Hearne to keep a journal at this time, it is unlikely they allotted these writing tools to Hearne. As well, it is impossible to determine whether Hearne brought his Coppermine River journals with him to York. The entry for the *Charlotte*'s journal on 28 August 1774 mentions only that Hearne's luggage was brought on board. The entry does not include a description of the contents of his baggage.[22] However, as explained in Chapter Five, bibliographic evidence suggests that Hearne may have had his journals with him, or at least a draft narrative when he met Andrew Graham in early 1774.

On 10 January 1774 Ferdinand Jacobs received news from Churchill of Moses Norton's death by "Iliac Passions" which created a most unusual problem.[23] Normally Churchill's second-in-command would have assumed the role of chief factor until the London Committee could confirm the appointment or send word of their preferred replacement. In this peculiar case, the second, Isaac Leask, had died of "Convulsive

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[21] HBCA B.239/a/70 fos. 2, 3, 6d, 11d, York Factory Post Journal, 1 and 8 September, 7 October, and 22 November 1773.

[22] HBCA B.42/a/89 fos 1d, 2, *Charlotte* Brigantine Journal 1773-74. Hearne is listed as a passenger to York, boarding on 27 August 1773 and having his luggage loaded the next day. Later on the 28th the ship left for York.

[23] HBCA B.239/a/70 fo 17, York Factory Post Journal, 10 January 1774. Norton had complained of his discomfort beginning 2 November 1773. Norton died on 29 December 1773. For these details see B.42/a/88 fos 7, 11, Churchill Post Journal, 2 November, 29 December 1773.

Spasms" earlier in October.[24] Churchill, the HBC's second largest and busiest post behind York, had only a sick sloop captain, a clerk, and a doctor left with any authority to command it.[25] As they intimated in a joint letter to Ferdinand Jacobs, "[w]e need not add any further to inform you of the Unhappy Situation we are in."[26] Jacobs took control of the situation, authorizing the transfer to Churchill of Andrew Graham, master of the smaller Severn post.[27]

"[A]t his own request" Samuel Hearne walked to Severn to fetch Graham back to York, where the latter was to rest before undertaking the longer journey to Churchill.[28]

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[24] There is no mention of Leask's death in the Churchill Post Journal. His passing is recorded in numerous letters circulating between posts. See HBCA B.42/b/20 fo 5d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Council, Churchill, to Ferdinand Jacobs, York, 2 January 1774; B.42/b/20 fo 6, letter from Council, Churchill, to Andrew Graham, Severn, 2 January 1774; B.42/b/20 fo 8, letter from Andrew Graham, Churchill, to Humphrey Marten, Albany, 9 March 1774. The letter from Churchill to Jacobs, at York, is also recorded as B.239/b/34 fo 5d.

[25] With Leask dead and Norton rendered too ill to work by mid-November, it fell to Captain Magnus Johnston to oversee trade and the general management of the post. Toward the end of the month the captain also fell ill. Now only William Jefferson, the post's writer and clerk, was left to govern the post, with possible assistance provided by the surgeon. HBCA B.42/a/88 fos 7, 7d, 8, 8d, 9d, 10, 10d, Churchill Post Journal, 5, 6, 13, 19 and 24 November, 6, 16, and 27 December 1773.

[26] HBCA B.42/b/20 fo 5d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Council, Churchill, to Ferdinand Jacobs, York, 2 January 1774.

[27] The London Committee had appointed Graham not only Master of Severn, but also as Second at York, under Jacobs. Since Graham had worked at Churchill many years prior, and had served as a temporary chief factor at York, Jacobs probably felt that Graham most suited the job. See Williams, *Graham's Observations*, 333-336, 340.

[28] HBCA B.239/b/34 fo 6, York Correspondence Book, letter from Jacobs, York, to Graham, Severn, 10 January 1774. In fact this was Hearne's second trip to Severn. He had travelled there seven days earlier to deliver the news of Norton's and Leask's deaths. See B.239/a/70 fo 17, 17d, 18, York Factory Post Journal, 13, 16 and 19 January 1774. See also Jacobs' letter to Graham explaining that Hearne would help Graham back to York and then to Churchill: B.239/b/34 fo 8, 18 January 1774.

Hearne spent a few days at Severn before returning, with Graham, to York.[29] Unlike Hearne, Graham was in a poor condition for travelling having suffered from a severe ulcer during the past year: "[f]rom an active person I am now rendered useless and an object of pity by being afflicted with a grievous disorder, an inguinal hernia...I dread a mortification, the pain at times being acute, and seconded with sickness, headache, and a slight vertigo..."[30] During the trips to York and then Churchill, Graham bound his middle in an elastic truss and often rode on a sled hauled by Hearne.[31]

Contrary to Graham's promise to send Hearne immediately back to York so that Hearne would be ready to proceed inland in early spring, Graham detained the young man at Churchill for over a month. Graham revealed his decision to keep Hearne for a lengthy period in a letter to Jacobs just six days after arriving at Churchill: "I have occasion for Mr Hearne at present so you need not look for him before April."[32] The interim chief factor did so under the premise that he required Hearne to explain the intricacies of Churchill's trade and where items were kept in the warehouse, things which the seasoned clerk William Jefferson or longtime resident Captain Johnston certainly could have carried out well enough.[33] During the first week back at Churchill Hearne helped in the warehouse and he felled and hauled wood. He completed the warehouse duties in the second week. There is no mention of his activities in the post journal from the 17th of March until his departure to York on 5 April 1774. His absence from the journal is unusual considering the typical amount of detail provided on his whereabouts. There are some hints in two letters Hearne sent to the London Committee that he and Graham spent some of this time discussing the mechanics of setting up an inland post and policy revisions to the northern sloop trade.[34] Aside from this conversation there is no documented reason why Hearne continued on at Churchill. Interestingly, they may have also discussed who was to succeed Graham as chief factor of Churchill, for in this same letter Hearne proposed that the London Committee consider him for the role: "[t]he very extroardinary Encouragment I have hether to met with on all accations, and the seeming Satisfaction I,ve always given in my differant stations, encourages me to offer myself as a Candidate, for the Command of Prince of Wals,s Fort."[35] There is a possibility, one that is backed by documentary evidence, that Graham delayed Hearne in order to learn more about the young man's experiences during the search for the northern copper mines.

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[29] HBCA B.198/a/18 fo 18d, Severn House Journal, 5 February 1774. On this day Hearne, Graham, William Tomison, Robert Garrock, John Ballentine, Charles Isham and four nameless Natives left Severn for York at 10 a.m. The Severn Journal does not describe any of Hearne's activities while at that post. In a letter from Hearne to the London Committee, Hearne stated that he spent three days at Severn before returning with Graham to York, a journey 12 days in duration. See A.11/115 fo 171d, London Correspondence Inwards - from York, 21 June 1774.

[30] HBCA A.11/57, fo 65d as cited in *Andrew Graham's Observations*, ed. G. Williams, 345-46.

[31] HBCA B.42/b/20 fo 8, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Graham, Churchill, to Humphrey Marten, Albany, 9 March 1774. Graham described his condition: "I may perhaps again migrate...to England...I having petitioned their Honours to retire on Acct of my Rupture which gave me great uneasiness last Year, but now using an Elastic Truss I am quite easey and in good Spirits." Elsewhere Graham stated that he had been wearing a truss since the fall of 1773 and fully expected that someone would have to haul him at least part of the way to Churchill. See B.198/a/18 fo 17, as cited in *Andrew Graham's Observations*, ed. Williams, 347. Graham writes similar passages in A.11/14 fo 9, letter from Graham to the London Committee, 26 August 1774.

[32] HBCA B.239/b/34 fo 9d, York Correspondence Book, letter from Andrew Graham, Churchill, to Ferdinand Jacobs, York, 9 March 1774.

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[33] Hearne and Graham arrived on 3 March 1774. Graham appointed Jefferson as Acting Second. Hearne stayed at Churchill until the 5th of April 1774. HBCA B.42/a/88 fos 14, 14d, 15, 16, Churchill Post Journal, 3, 4, 10, 17 March, 5 April 1774; B.239/a/70 fos 22d, 25 York Factory Post Journal, 24 February, 17 March 1774; B.239/b/34 fo 10, York Correspondence Book, letter from Andrew Graham, Churchill, to Ferdinand Jacobs, York, 4 April 1774 (same letter also catalogued as B.42/b/20 fo 9, Churchill Correspondence Book).

[34] "During my stay at Churchill M^r Graham inform d me of all he knew that might conduce to the benifit of the Expedition." HBCA A.11/115 fo 171d, London Correspondence Inwards - from York, 21 June 1774. The opening of the post at The Pas marked a significant change in the HBC's policy, and to a large degree Graham influenced this change. It is therefore understandable that he took an interest in how Hearne planned to fulfill this mandate. See also *Andrew Graham's Observations*, ed., Williams, 346. Hearne mentioned his discussions with Graham concerning the sloop trade in another letter dated 26 June 1774. See HBCA A.11/115, fo 173.

[35] HBCA A.11/115, fo 17, 21 June 1774.

Graham had an ongoing interest in the outcome of the search for the copper mines and the Northwest Passage, which he demonstrated in two volumes of his "Observations" that predate Hearne's journey.[36] Whether or not Hearne spent this time rewriting the narrative, or merely polishing something he had started the summer he returned in 1772, is not revealed in the HBCA documentary evidence. He certainly appears to have had the time to work on the narrative. What is known is that it was around this time that Graham entered the paraphrased descriptions of the Chipewyan attack taken from the earliest stage of the Coppermine River journals into one new volume of "Observations," as well as a lengthier transcription of a revised narrative version of the same account into another two new volumes.[37] The days at Severn or the month at Churchill are the most likely periods when the exchange of information between the two men took place. Graham left Rupert's Land, never to return, in the fall of 1775 while Hearne was inland setting up Cumberland House. It is difficult to prove that Graham stimulated Hearne to revise his journal into a narrative, but the interest Graham obviously possessed with regard to Hearne's travels and journal could only have provided the young explorer with encouragement. Nonetheless, it is far more likely that it was Graham in 1774, rather than La Pérouse in 1782 (as argued by Tyrrell and others), who helped push Samuel Hearne to rework his Coppermine River journals.[38]

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[36] HBCA E.2/4 fos 30d-31d; E.2/7 fos 15d-16, 25. See the more detailed discussion of these documents in Chapter 5 under the sub-heading of Draft Manuscripts.

[37] HBCA E.2/9 fos 133-135; E.2/10 p 143; E.2/13 pp 252-257. At a later date Graham substantially revised the draft narrative and entered it into E.2/12 pp 336- 346. This is the version Glyndwr Williams used for the published volume of *Graham's Observations*, and the version that MacLaren referred to in "Samuel Hearne's Accounts," 28. See Chapter 5.

[38] Lawrence J. Burpee, *A Chapter in the Literature of the Fur Trade* (Chicago, 1911), 51; Burpee, "Samuel Hearne," *The Discovery of Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1944), 190; Stuart and Mary Houston, "Samuel Hearne, Naturalist," *The Beaver* 67.4 (Fall 1987), 24; L.H. Neatby, "Introduction," *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*

The story of the production of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* becomes less clear during the few years following Hearne's encounter with Graham. Between April 1774 and October 1776, Samuel Hearne focused his attention on establishing the HBC's first inland post in the western interior. Fur returns at York had diminished during the last decades and the HBC believed that the decline derived mainly from the presence of French trading posts west of the HBC's own bayside posts. Hearne's task was to build a new post even farther west than the French post of Basquia, situated along the Saskatchewan River trade network. Prior to Hearne, the HBC had sent employees inland to winter with Native fur traders in the hope that these employees could prevent the Natives from dealing with the French.[39] Not only had this wintering policy failed to produce an increase in the

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(Edmonton: Hurtig, 1971), xxii-xxiii; J.B. Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1911), 19-20. Note: this debate is covered in some detail in the Introduction to this dissertation.

[39] The earliest HBC winterers were Henry Kelsey (1689, 1690) and William Stewart (1715-16). More recently, Anthony Henday (1754-55, 1759-60), Joseph Smith and John Waggoner (1756-57, 1757-58, 1759-60), John Waggoner (1760-61, 1762-63), John Smith (1761-62, 1762-63), George Potts (1759-60), Issac Batt (1759-60, 1761-62, 1762-63, 1765-66, 1766-67, 1767-68, 1768-69, 1771-72), John Taylor (1761-62), Henry Pressick (1761-62, 1762-63), William Pink (1766-67, 1767-68, 1768-69, 1769-70), Edward Lutit (1766-67, 1767-68, 1768-69), James Dearing (1766-67, 1767-68, 1768-69, 1769-70), James Allen (1766-67, 1767-68, 1768-69, 1769-70), William Tomison (1767-68, 1769-70), Louis Primeau (1765-66, 1766-67, 1767-68, 1769-70, 1771-72, 1772-73), Thomas Haddler (1769-70), Mathew Cocking (1772-73), Joseph Hansom (1772-73), and John Cole (1772-73, 1773-74) had wintered inland. See Barbara Belyea, *A Year Inland* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2000), 369, 382; John Brebner, *Explorers of North America 1492-1806* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1964 [First published 1933]), 321, 324; Alan Cooke and Clive Holland, *The Exploration of Northern Canada, 500-1920: A Chronology* (Toronto: The Arctic History Press, 1978), 73, 74, 76, 77, 79, 80-81, 82-83, 84, 85, 89, 90; K.G. Davies, "Henry Kelsey," *DCB*, vol. 2 (1969), 309.) Henry Kelsey, "Memorandum of my abode in hudsons bay from 1683 to 1722," *The Kelsey Papers*, introduction by Arthur G. Doughty and Chester Martin (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 1929), xxxiv, 111; L.H. Neatby, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey...* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1971), xvii-xviii; E.E. Rich, *The Hudson's Bay Company*, vol. 2 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960), 15; Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping 1670-1870* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University

number of furs arriving at bayside posts, it had also failed to stem the decline in the quality and quantity of furs. To remain competitive, the HBC required a more aggressive tactic: inland posts. However, unlike the French, HBC employees were not proficient canoeists nor were they able to navigate the interior waterways. Furthermore, the HBC was at a geographic disadvantage as there were no birch groves near any of its posts and therefore it lacked the raw materials to build canoes.[40] For the HBC's new policy to work, it had to rely upon Native traders to provide the means of transportation and to guide employees in all aspects of inland travel and survival.

Samuel Hearne left Andrew Graham and Churchill for York in April 1774. Departure inland from York was delayed until the arrival of inland Native traders from among whom Chief Factor Ferdinand Jacobs planned to select a proper guide. According to the York post journal, during these next couple of months Hearne spent most of his time away from the post goose-hunting and whaling. Finally, on 23 June 1774 Hearne left for the interior with Cree traders and twelve HBC labourers.[41] As was the case during similar past instances, it is unlikely Hearne worked on the narrative or possessed the necessary writing tools up to the time of his departure. These circumstances changed during his inland trek.

The trip from York to Basquia took two months.[42] Hearne then expended another

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Press, 1991), 5; Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey...* (1911), 12; Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), 3, 5, 6, 13.

[40] Belyea, *A Year Inland* (2000), 367, 380; Richard Glover, "The Difficulties of the Hudson's Bay Company's Penetration of the West,' *Canadian Historical Review* 29 (1948), 240-41.

[41] HBCA B.239/a/70 fos 28d, 29d, 30, 30d, 31, 37d, 38, 39, 39d, York Factory Post Journal 12, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, and 28 April, 13, 14, 16, 17, 22, and 23 June 1774. See also Stone, "Profile: Samuel Hearne," *Polar Record* 23 (1986) 52; Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), 29; E.E. Rich, *The Hudson's Bay Company*, vol. 2 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960), 60.

[42] HBCA B.49/a/1 fos 2-6, Cumberland House Journal 23 June to 19 August 1774.

month searching for the ideal post site west of the French site, thus hopefully circumventing the influence of the French traders.[43] Based upon advice from local Cree, Hearne selected Pine Island Lake as the location for the new post, Cumberland House.[44] According to Hearne's journal, the expedition crew then devoted the next few months to building a temporary house which took the form of a log tent, as well as gathering wood and other preparations to survive the winter. As the master of the post and chief trader, Hearne remained in proximity to the house throughout the winter and spring. This time he sent others to hunt, fish, and gather wood. Hearne did not record any trade transactions during these long months. Even in the spring, despite the Cree assurances that Cumberland House lay on an important travelling and trading route, few trading opportunities arose; instead, the HBC men repaired the temporary house and began construction of a permanent structure.[45] Leaving the HBC men behind, Hearne left for York on 29 May 1775 in order to bring in the few furs, collect supplies, and report his observations to Jacobs regarding the inland post policy.

During this season inland, Hearne possessed both the opportunity and the writing materials necessary to work on his narrative. Once more Hearne had access to paper and ink; the HBC required him to keep a journal documenting his route, amount of trade, and daily activities. But there is no indication whether he had sufficient writing materials with him to afford the luxury of writing a draft manuscript, in part or whole. Furthermore, documentary evidence fails to reveal whether he even carried his copies of the Coppermine River journals with him from Churchill. It seems logical that he would have wanted these items to use as a mnemonic device. Given the difficult living circumstances Hearne expected to encounter during the season inland it may well be that he elected to store the journals safely at Churchill. It is not possible, given the evidence available, to move beyond these suppositions, however reasonable.

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[43] HBCA B.49/a/1, Cumberland House Journal 23 June 1774 to 23 June 1775. fos 6-7.

[44] B.49/a/1 fo 7, 29 August 1774.

[45] B.49/a/1 fos 7d-27.

After twenty-six days of canoeing downstream from Cumberland House, Hearne reached York on 24 June 1775 - one day over a year since he had last visited the post.[46] He stayed only two weeks. During his stay he packed the furs he had brought with him from Cumberland House for shipment to England and he examined trading goods he intended to bring back inland.[47] Certainly Hearne had access to writing materials during this visit, for while at York he added five pages of observations concerning inland trade at the end of his Cumberland House journal.[48] He also composed a letter to the London Committee summarizing the events from the past season, with a particular emphasis on hardships endured. Hearne declined signing a contact for renewed service until the committee agreed to pay him higher wages.[49] Although no direct indication in any HBCA documents exists, it is also highly probable that a considerable amount of Hearne's time was consumed in meetings with Ferdinand Jacobs for the purpose of evaluating Hearne's efforts during the previous year and discussing any necessary readjustments to the inland post plan. There is no direct evidence Hearne pursued the development of the Coppermine River narrative. Hearne then left York for Cumberland House on 8 July, arriving there on 19 August 1775.[50]

Just days after Hearne had resumed supervision of the goose hunt and construction of the new house, word of the London Committee's decision regarding the replacement for former Chief Factor Moses Norton reached Rupert's Land. They had chosen Samuel

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[46] HBCA B.49/a/1 fos 27-29d, Cumberland House Journal 29 May - 23 June 1774.

[47] HBCA B.239/a/71 fos 30d, 31, 31d, York Factory Post Journal, 24, 25, and 26 June, 8 July 1775.

[48] HBCA B.49/a/1 fos 30-32, Cumberland House Journal.

[49] HBCA A.11/115 fos 181d-182, London Correspondence Inwards - from York, 30 June 1775.

[50] HBCA B.49/a/2 fos. 1-6d, Cumberland House Journal, 8 July - 19 August 1774.

Hearne.[51] Matthew Cocking, Hearne's would-be successor at Cumberland House, arrived from York on 4 October with the news of Hearne's promotion and instructions for Hearne to travel immediately to Churchill.[52] Interestingly, Hearne noted in his Cumberland House journal that he had just ordered a table for his quarters from the carpenter.[53] The fact that Hearne mentioned this requisition at all suggests that he had gone without such furniture to this point. Though Hearne had time to write during his years at Cumberland House, the situation concerning ample supplies of writing materials and a suitable writing environment (i.e. table) remains uncertain. As well, there is nothing in Hearne's letters or journals from this time period that suggests he had any desire to work on the Coppermine River narrative beyond what he had done already for Graham. Of course, the absence of direct evidence for all of these elements does not rule out the possibility that Hearne did work on the narrative.

On 6 October Hearne left Cumberland House, but he travelled to York instead of Churchill. None of the Cree guides wished to take Hearne to Churchill due to the lateness of the season. The rivers would soon be frozen and the Cree were certain only that they would have time enough to reach Churchill. Hearne noted the cause of the guides' reluctance:

> they unavoiadably would be obligd to winter there and leave their wives and Family.* to the care of other Indians till nex Summer. That ware the only objection most of them had. Which I could by no means remove, for

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[51] HBCA A.5/1 fo 169 p. 338, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter from the London Committee to Hearne, 4 May 1775.

[52] HBCA B.49/a/2 fo 12d, Cumberland Post Journal, 4 October 1775. Hearne's journal entry for this day includes the transcription of Jacobs' letter to Hearne about the promotion to chief factor.

[53] B.49/a/2 fo 12, 29 September 1775. Hearne had ensured that the men's quarters were finished before his own. It was only during the previous few days that construction on Hearne's quarters had begun, including a chimney, table, and walls. Though not mentioned directly, it seems that up to this point Hearne lived in a tent or in the previous year's temporary and roughly made house. Hearne repeated this pattern of putting his men's comfort ahead of his own during the rebuilding of Churchill in the 1783-84 and 1784-85 seasons.

> few Indians like to be absent from their Family.' for so long together, if by any means they Possably can avoid it.[54]

The only option left to Hearne was to accompany the native canoeists, who had brought Cocking to Cumberland House, back to York.[55]

Though Hearne planned to go directly from York to Churchill, he did not reach his ultimate destination until 17 January 1776. Arriving at York on 27 October, after a two-day rest a sudden change in the weather prevented Hearne from departing. Ice blew in from Hudson Bay up the Nelson River, making the river impossible to cross by boat. To traverse the waterway by foot, Hearne had to wait until the river froze solidly, a circumstance that did not materialize until the beginning of January 1776. Even at this time Hearne had to walk twenty-two miles inland from the coast of Hudson Bay before he could cross the river safely.[56]

During Samuel Hearne's time at York he worked on the design and construction of a model for an inland canoe. Jacobs did not assign him to any labour as in previous years (most likely because Hearne now held the title of chief factor); consequently, Hearne would have had plenty of time to work on his Coppermine River narrative in the months of November and December 1775. However, the same uncertainties persist concerning the lack of direct evidence to indicate that Hearne worked specifically on the narrative and whether Hearne even had his copies of the Coppermine River journals with him.

Hearne formally assumed the role of Churchill's chief factor on 17 January 1776 at

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[54] HBCA B.49/a/2 fo 13, Cumberland House Journal, 4 October 1775.

[55] B.49/a/2 fo 13d, 4 October 1775.

[56] HBCA B.49/a/2 fo 15d, Cumberland House Journal, 27 October 1775. Back at Churchill Hearne added in his explanation for his delayed arrival under the October entry in the Cumberland Post Journal. B.239/a/73 fos 18, 22d, 24, York Factory Post Journal, 27 October, 12 December 1775, 1 and 2 January 1776. The same explanation appears in A.11/15 fo 29, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 2 September 1776.

11 a.m.[57] From this time forward the post journals do not provide much direct information concerning Hearne's activities during the ten and a half years he held this title.[58] He would have supervised all Company transactions with Cree and Dene traders at Churchill, organized the employees' duties, devised policies based on his own experiences and London Committee recommendations, and drafted correspondence and journal entries. He made no more trips to fetch wood or deliver mail, stayed at no more hunting camps, nor took any more trading and whaling voyages: Hearne now lived at the post year-round.

Given Hearne's stationary and non-labour intensive situation, he certainly had greater opportunities to work on the narrative project. Indeed, it was in June of 1776 that he composed the eight pages of "Remarks," concerning inland canoes and trade, located at the end of his second Cumberland House journal.[59] Other evidence suggesting that

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[57] HBCA B.42/a/92 fo 13d, Churchill Post Journal, 17 January 1776. The men accepted Hearne in his new role. There is no evidence of their challenging his authority. This included William Jefferson, still the second at Churchill, and Captain Magnus Johnston, under whom Hearne had served when associated with the sea-service. Hearne received many congratulatory letters on his promotion. The most interesting one among them comes from Thomas Hutchins, Andrew Graham's science partner and then surgeon at York (but now chief factor at Albany), and whom Hearne had met during the latter's brief visits to York in 1773, 1774, and 1775. This letter is striking because of Hutchins' effusive expressions of warmth and admiration for Hearne: "I take the earliest Opportunity of congratulating you on an Event which your Merit has so justly entitled you to. The Sincerity of my regard exclusive of the Obedience I owe the Companys Command makes me open this Corrispondence with the utmost Pleasure." See B.42/b/22 fo 2d, Thomas Hutchins, Albany, to Samuel Hearne, Churchill, 18 September 1775. What makes this letter even more interesting is that Hutchins employed this tone only in letters to Hearne. Hutchins later wrote: "I am however in good spirits and the more so at this time as M^r^ Hearne is the Subject of my thoughts." See B.42/b/23 fo 2d, Hutchins, Albany, to Hearne, Churchill, 1 June 1777. Hearne's matching correspondence is devoid of similar language.

[58] I counted the period commencing from when he arrived at Churchill in January 1776 until he departed Rupert's Land in the fall of 1787, minus the year spent in Europe when the French destroyed Churchill.

[59] HBCA B.49/a/2 fos 16-19d, Cumberland House Journal. Hearne signed and dated the Remarks on 28 June 1776.

Hearne spent time writing, whether for work or personal reasons, appears in the Churchill post journal. The entry for 9 December 1777 indicates that the carpenter was constructing a writing table for the chief's apartment.[60] A similar entry appears for 1 December 1783, during the rebuilding of Churchill following the French attack in August of 1782.[61] As well, Hearne drafted numerous letters to fellow chief factors each year, as well as drafting the post journal. Furthermore, in taking on the role of chief factor Hearne gained a more favourable writing environment. He now possessed not only private quarters, which represented a quiet place to work more or less uninterrupted, but also unquestioned access to the post's paper and ink stores.

At the time Hearne took over the management of Churchill, the warehouse contained ample supplies of writing paper. The HBCA holds records for the years from 1776 to 1783 of the supplies sent to Churchill.[62] In the fall of 1776 Churchill received forty-eight quires of writing paper, along with four account books, six journal books of various sizes, two books with marbled covers, and thirty-six quires of cartridge paper (wrapping paper).[63] The same types of stationery were sent throughout the period but in differing quantities. The amount of writing paper sent thereafter steadily decreased so that by the 1780s Churchill received only twenty quires, but the post still received the same supply of books.[64] However, even with the decrease in paper supplies, there was more than enough to meet the post's needs, for in 1780 and again in 1786 Hearne sent surplus writing paper to York.[65] Hearne's donations also imply that he had sufficient paper to use for his personal writing project.

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[60] HBCA B.42/a/96 fo 14d, Churchill Post Journal, 9 December 1777.

[61] HBCA B.42/a/103 fo 11, Churchill Post Journal, 1 December 1783.

[62] The records for the duration of Hearne's tenure have not survived.

[63] According to the *Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary*, a quire is a measure of paper quantity, either meaning "any collection of leaves one within another in a manuscript or book," or "25 (also 24) sheets of paper." I have not included the definition as it applied to medieval manuscripts. See *OEED* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 1186.

[64] HBCA A.24/18 fos 9, 11d, 17, 21, 34, 45d, 52d, 60d, 62d, 82d, Invoice of Shipments to Hudson Bay - Churchill, 1776-1783. The supplies sent in the fall of 1783 could not be delivered due to the French attack (fo 72).

These favourable writing conditions, including privacy, the freedom to manage his own time, ample supplies, and a writing desk, remained constant throughout Hearne's tenure as chief factor with the exception of an approximately two-year period following the destruction of Churchill by the French in 1782. Because the living conditions during this period were so unlike the rest of Hearne's time at Churchill, this period shall be explored in more detail in order to ascertain the impact of these conditions upon the likelihood Hearne worked on the Coppermine River narrative.

The earliest indication that the ideal writing conditions had evaporated appears in a letter Hearne composed to the London Committee prior to the *Prince Rupert*'s return across the Atlantic: "I hope your Honours will excuse the badness of this scrall, as our conveniencies for Writeing, at present is very unfavourable."[66] Hearne revealed what he meant by "unfavourable" in the post journal and letters to other bayside chief factors.

When Hearne and a small contingent of labourers and officers came ashore to the site of the now destroyed fort on 14 September of 1783, they had time only to erect rough quarters for the men before winter arrived. Construction on the officers' quarters continued into the winter. Hearne stayed in a log tent as long as the weather permitted before he shared a room with his officers. The quarters had a dirt floor and lacked interior walls. The men achieved some privacy by hanging blankets. Sometime in November

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[65] HBCA B.42/b/25 fo 3d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Martin, York, 30 January 1780. In this instance Hearne had enough paper at Churchill so that he could send this year's entire shipment on to York. See also B.42/b/28 fo 5, letter from Hearne to Martin at York, no date (inferred to be January or February 1786 by the letters surrounding this one). Here Hearne sends 20 quires of writing paper and "a few sheets" of draft paper. He is able to spare the paper in spite of the rather lean years at Churchill since the French attack.

[66] A.11/15 fo 100, London Correspondence Inward - from Churchill, Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 25 September 1783.

Hearne moved into his own quarters.[67] The housing situation was by far the least of the men's troubles, which had begun when the ship ran aground. The men waded into the frigid water up to their necks to retrieve the cargo and as a result many of the dry goods became water-damaged. Hearne judged many of the goods unfit for consumption or trade, including the blankets now serving as walls. As well, some of the crucial supplies had been left behind on the London docks, such as bread and saws. They received the wrong size fishing nets. They lost all their wine and spirits when the casks and bottles split in the cold air.[68] More importantly, half of the homeguard Cree had died from smallpox and starvation during the previous year, and of the thirty-odd survivors only six were male, all of whom were young boys. There were no seasoned hunters who could be counted on to provide the HBC men with fresh meat and leather. Hearne and his men taught the survivors how to hunt and trap.[69] In spite of their efforts they barely managed to acquire enough fresh meat to prevent scurvy.[70] These few fallen animals did not provide enough leather to clothe the Cree and the HBC employees, let alone material for a supply of snowshoes. The caribou population around Churchill remained inexplicably low for the next two seasons. As a result, the HBC men wore canvas shoes and mittens and used the damaged blankets as coats. When the canvas wore out Hearne donated his own beaver coat and moose skins to clothe his men.[71] Hearne reflected upon the hardships from these two seasons: "I must acknowledge that a man may serve some time without Wages even till he has wore out his old Cloaths but I always find there was no Joaking with the Belly."[72]

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[67] HBCA B.42/a/103 fo 1, Churchill Post Journal, 14 September 1783; B.42/b/26 fo 10d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Marten, York, 19 January 1784; B.42/a/103 fos 6d, 7d, Churchill Post Journal, 25 and 27 October, 3 November 1783. This latter reference describes the building of Hearne's room. I have assumed that by the absence of further descriptions Hearne moved in soon after.

[68] HBCA A.11/15 fos 99-99d, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, Hearne to the London Committee, 25 September 1783; B.42/a/103 fos 1, 9d, Churchill Post Journal, 16 September, 21 November 1783; B.42/b/26 fo 6d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Marten, York, 27 December 1783.

[69] HBCA B.42/b/26 fos 3-3d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Edward Jarvis, Albany, 20 December 1783; B.42/b/26 fo 6, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Marten, York, 27 December 1783; B.42/a/103 fos 2d, 8d-9, Churchill Post Journal, 27 September, 14 November 1783.

[70] HBCA B.42/a/103 fo 40, Churchill Post Journal, 8 August 1784. Here Hearne comments on the persistent absence of the deer: "I never knew y^e like." See also B.42/a/104 fos 4d, 17, Churchill Post Journal, 25 October 1784, 15 April 1785.

To add to this distressing situation, no Chipewyan traders appeared that first winter. Hearne learned of the reason for their puzzling disappearance the next spring upon the arrival of the first Chipewyan at the fort: the majority of the northwestern Chipewyan and Athabasca Cree had perished during a smallpox epidemic during the winter of 1782-83.[73] It was an epidemic that had its origins southwest of Churchill and arrived in HBC territory by 1781.[74] HBC inland traders such as William Walker of Hudson House documented the horrific impact of this disease in their journals:

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[71] HBCA B.42/b/26 fo 10, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to William Falconer, Severn, 13 January 1784; B.42/b/27 fos 5-5d, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Marten, 7 March 1785; B.42/a/104 fo 7, Churchill Post Journal 30 November 1784.

[72] HBCA B.42/b/28 fo 6, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Edward Jarvis, Albany, 20 January 1786.

[73] Hearne estimated that ninety percent of the Chipewyan died as a result of this epidemic, either directly from the disease itself or by starvation when those skilled in acquiring food died. See Hearne (1958), 115, footnote. Kerry Abel describes the impact of this epidemic upon the Dene in particular in *Drum Songs*, 72-73.

[74] Laura Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada 1780-1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994), 18-19. Peers discusses the origins, spread, and mortality rate associated with this particular epidemic as it affected the Ojibwa. Peers suggests that between half and three-quarters of the Western Ojibwa perished directly and indirectly from smallpox during this epidemic (p. 20). Jody F. Decker also addresses the difficulty in ascertaining general mortality rates for this epidemic in "Country Distempers: Deciphering Disease and Illness in Rupert's Land before 1870," *Reading Beyond Words*, eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), 170.

> I am very Sorry that I should have such disagreeable News to send You, But the Small Pox is raging all round Us with great Violence, sparing very few that takes it...above Nine Tents of Indians Within here all dead, the Tents left standing and the Bodies lying inside unburied, As for the Stone Indians they are very few, if any left alive, Which will make this One of the Worst Years that ever the Honble. Hudson's Bay Company's Servants has seen both for furrs and Provisions...I had sent out five men to the Barren Ground to maintain themselves, but on Sunday Decr.the 2nd they returned all starving, no Buffallo being to be found and the Indians all dying by this Distemper that there is no getting a Livelihood, the Indians lying dead about the Barren Ground like Rotten Sheep, their Tents left standing and the Wild Beasts devouring them.[75]

But due to the communication interruption caused by the French attack in August of 1782 many HBC personnel did not learn of smallpox's presence until about two years later, as was the case for Hearne at Churchill. Hearne worried about the impact of these deaths upon Churchill's trade. He later wrote: "I do not recollect any thing that is so much wanted at present as a good Trade...Oh, Churchill, Churchill, how art thou fallen off from thy former Grandeur."[76] Hearne estimated that formerly Matonabbee and his people had brought in approximately 7/8^{ths} of all furs received at the post.[77] Neither the level of trade nor the number of Chipewyan ever recovered to their pre-1782 levels during the rest of Hearne's time at Churchill. Indeed, by the end of the 1784-85 season Hearne concluded that "[t]he many Deaths amongst all the Tribes of Indians that formerly Traded at this place has actually reduced their Numbers to such a Degree that I much fear Poor Churchill will never more defrey the Expence of a Ship being Solely consigned to it[.]"[78] But, by the next season everything else was much as it had been before. Once more Hearne had everything he needed in terms of supplies, space, and time to work on the Coppermine River narrative. Whether or not he was so inclined remains to be discussed.

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[75] *Cumberland and Hudson House Journals, 1775-1782*, vol. 2, ed. E.E. Rich and asst. by A.M. Johnson (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1951), 270. The excerpt is taken from a copy of the general letter for Hudsons House dated 4 December 1781.

[76] HBCA B.42/b/28 fo 4, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Marten, York [early 1786 by context of surrounding letters].

[77] HBCA B.42/a/103 fos 24d-25, Churchill Post Journal, 2 May 1784.

[78] HBCA B.42/b/27 fo 8d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Marten, York, 22 August 1785.

Initially Hearne appeared to enjoy his appointment as chief factor and his life at Churchill. Hearne seemed to have more spare time in his new role. In March 1776 he wrote to Humphrey Marten, chief factor at York, with an offer to teach George Hudson, an apprentice at York, the principles of drawing. It was not such a strange offer, for by then Hearne had a reputation as an artist; for example, Andrew Graham referred to Hearne as such in one of his "Observations" manuscripts in a reference to the Coppermine River journey.[79] Marten accepted Hearne's offer of mentorship on behalf of the apprentice. Then in August Hearne updated Marten on the boy's progress:

> George Hudson returns according to your Desire but tho' not so perfect as I could wish [. He] has made a tolerable progress considering the short Time he has been here & if he has a liking for the Art, he may from the little Insight he has had in time be proficient enough for any thing that will be required of him in this Country.[80]

As chief factor, Hearne had time to work on drawings evidently created for his own pleasure. He eventually incorporated some of his sketches, including one he did of Churchill in 1777, into the Coppermine River narrative he submitted for publication in 1792. Around this time Hearne also mused on the connection between the sub-arctic environment and his own well-being:

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[79] HBCA E.2/7 fo 16, Observations on Hudson's Bay, by Andrew Graham. Graham wrote: "The Company has taken a more effectual method to find and examine the above river and copper mine: They have sent an artist with some trusty Indians to clear up the affair." In the eighteenth century, the word "artist" carried a broader meaning than is currently understood. The designation implied a person held a high skill level in their vocation, and thus the word applied equally to a painter, ship-builder, button-maker, and gardener. In Hearne's case, however, the designation appears to refer to his drawing abilities. See Susie Tucker, *Protean Shape* (London: The Athlone Press, 1967), 222.

[80] HBCA B.42/b/22 fos 4, 5d, 8, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Marten, York, 6 March 1776, letter from Marten to Hearne 20 March 1776, letter from Hearne to Marten, 15 August 1776.

> Myself and people are as usual all in good health but that is no wonder since the pureness of the air and wholsomeness of the Diet makes it the healthiest part in the known world and what is very extraordinary at this place some of us think we never grow any older, but as this is a new discovery probably we may be greatly mistaken.[81]

As demonstrated by some of his extra-curricular activities, there is no evidence that Hearne felt other than positive and enthusiastic about his role and living situation during these first few seasons.

Though Hearne apparently enjoyed his appointment and the privileges it afforded, he soon learned that the role carried a cost - responsibility for the success or failure of Churchill's economic activities. From the beginning he disagreed with the London Committee's handling of its two main projects at Churchill: whaling and the northern sloop trade.[82] Just nine months after Hearne took over the management of Churchill he warned the London Committee that it was ill-advised in continuing its support of the white whale fishery:

> It gives me much concern, (tho my duty,) to acquaint your Honours that the white whale fishery which you seem so desirous of prossicuteing, is no way's likely to defrey half the Expence it naturally must incur. With differance to those who pointed it out as a Valuable Branch, I must for my part own that I never could conceive any good opinion thereof.[83]

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[81] HBCA B.42/a/94 fo 24, Churchill Post Journal, 20 March 1777. Entry for this day includes a transcription of a letter from Hearne to Marten. This letter is not in the correspondence books of either York or Churchill.

[82] When the committee sent word to Andrew Graham of Hearne's appointment to chief factor, the letter included instructions to Graham's replacement: "M^r Hearne being well acquainted with the general Conduct of Our Affairs at Prince of Wales Fort, We require his particular attention to the White Whale Fishery...and to the properest manner of carrying on the Northern Trade so as not to interfere or any ways diminish Our Trade at the Factory." HBCA A.6/12 fo 33d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Andrew Graham and Council, Churchill, 4 May 1775.

[83] HBCA A.11/15 fo 39, London Correspondence Inwards, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 23 August 1777. Hearne's unfavourable attitude toward whaling echoes his remarks concerning earlier experiences aboard the HBC's whaling vessels.

Though Hearne displayed reservations with regard to whaling, he nonetheless suggested policy improvements:

> The White Whale Fishery tho not attended with success, has never wanted all the encouragement that is in my power to give and have now built a large house for the better Boiling and Refineing the Oil but for wand [want] of wood, we could not make the reservoyer,* mentioned last year as the Company did not comply with that Part of our Indent, but I hope the Oil now sent will prove good as the present harpooner is very carefull in the boiling &c-[84]

Soon into his new role as chief factor Hearne also expressed reservations about the committee's plans to rely upon the sloop trade to sustain and even extend profits:

> When a trade were first established with the Northern Indians at Knapps Bay, it were always understood (here) that it were with no other intent than to give them the opportunity to dispose of their Deer skins and other heavy goods, which for want of Water carriage were (tell then) of no value to themselves and entirely lost to the Company: soon after the establishment of that trade some Northern Indians that were in debt at the Factory, offered their furrs for trade [with the sloop], which no doubt met with sufficient encouragement...by which means that branch (in a few years) encreased very considerable, but at the same time drawing the trade from one part of the Coast to another cannot be considered as a real increase
> this place; for every furs that were traded from
> of the general or total trade from ^ the Northern Indians by the Sloop Master to the Northward would most assuredly have been brought to this Factory without any reductions.[85]

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[84] HBCA A.11/15 fo 45d, London Correspondence Inwards, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 26 August 1778.

[85] HBCA A.11/15 fo 49d, London Correspondence Inwards, General Letter from Churchill to London , 28 August 1778. As noted previously in this dissertation, the Chipewyan did not use canoes in the summer as a primary mode of transportation. In a letter from Hearne the same year he writes a similar challenge to the London Committee's plan: "I cannot think that transfuring the established trade; from one part of the coast to another, is ever likely to Produce a Real encrease, but if their Honour,* chooses to have the Furr trade carried on at that part they may depend on my best endeavours to extend it to the utmost of their wishes. --" See HBCA A,11/15 fo 45, London Correspondence Inwards, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 26 August 1778.

Instead, Hearne believed that the Chipewyan middlemen traders' efforts effectively protected the HBC's trade with the Athabasca Cree from the Canadian traders:

> I wish it ware in my power to point out any method to increase your trade at Churchill...but Experiance has proved to me, that nothing of the kind can ever take place. The methods I have already taken with the Northern Indians, thas is, sending them into the Atha-pus-cow Indians Country to bring off their furs is the, best and only method.[86]

Hearne also surmised that the success of these middlemen with inland peoples made opening further inland posts unnecessary, particularly in the north, and thus saved the Company considerable expense. Perhaps in hope that he could dissuade his superiors from following the plan to expand the sloop trade, Hearne claimed responsibility for expanding the land-based trade, all through the Chipewyan middlemen, from 6000 Made Beaver (MB) to 11000 MB in the short time he had taken control of Churchill.[87] Despite these results his superiors remained fixed upon the two water-based projects: "We are very glad to find Our Trade benefitted by your sending the Northern Indians Inland, but We require your particular Attention to the Orders given in Our present General Letter relative to the White Whale Fishery and the Northern Trade in the Sloop..."[88]

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[86] HBCA A.11/15 fo 39, London Correspondence Inwards, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 23 August 1777.

[87] HBCA A.11/15 fo 39, London Correspondence Inwards - from Churchill, Hearne to the London Committee 23 August 1777; B.42/a/94 fo 43d, Churchill Post Journal, 8 August 1777 - this entry contains a transcription of a letter Hearne wrote to Humphrey Marten about his policy plans. Actually Hearne's fortune rests with Matonabbee's skills as a middleman and peacekeeper. Matonabbee had established peace with the Athabasca Cree during the late 1750s and early 1760s. He then worked on creating a middleman role for himself between these Cree and Churchill. He assumed the same role among his own people. During November 1776 Matonabbee arrived at Churchill with approximately 300 Chipewyan and a huge load of furs worth 5000 MB, plus 7000 lbs of venison. This is the occasion that Hearne is referring to in the claim he makes to the London Committee about the increased trade. See B.42/a/94 fos 8d, 15d, Churchill Post Journal, 4 November 1776, and a letter he wrote to Humphrey Marten about the November event on 26 June 1777.

[88] HBCA A.5/2 fo 36, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to Samuel Hearne, 13 May 1778.

The dialogue between Hearne and the London Committee continued along the same lines during the next few years, but arguably with an increasingly antagonistic tone. The governing committee, motivated by the falling numbers of furs reaching HBC posts, persistently pursued these policies in the belief it could revive the company's profitability by relying on what it perceived as the untapped resources in furs and whales of the north.[89] Sometimes it responded to Hearne's steady opposition by sending extra supplies to extend these operations: "We are apprehensave Our Chief does not forward that undertaking [whaling] so heartily as We could wish...As We are very desirous to have the White Whale Fishery prosecuted, We have sent you two additional Sailors..."[90] Hearne tried repeatedly to explain his actions as well as the problems with the fishery:

> Mr. Hearne is very sorry that Your Honours should think that he does not forward the fishery with a good heart: we can assure You that no encouragement has ever been wanting, nor has the People employ'd on that duty ever been taken off even for a moment since the breaking up of the River which were the latest ever known here being the 26th. of June and as we had the misfortune to loose Mungo Carear (who were froze to death on the first of June) and Frances Deanham (both Sailors) being sick all the first of the summer, it were not in our Power to fit out any more than one Boat on that service, add to it that the weather has been very precarious during the fishing season and a remarkable scarcity of fish [whales]."[91]

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[89] Even Hearne had to admit that by the 1780s his original plan of relying on Chipewyan middlemen no longer sufficed to keep the fur returns high: "That the Trade at Churchill is on the decline is what I perceive with regret and am much afraid that the late encroachment of the Canadians will soon make the affairs at this place, wear a much more unfavourable aspect than at present, and I much fear that great Part of our trade will be intersepted next Year, however my best endeavours to prevent it shall not be wanting[.]" See HBCA A.11/15 fo 91, London Correspondence Inwards, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 25 August 1781. He made a similar comment in a letter to Matthew Cocking: "the Canadians have found means to intercept some of my best Northn. Leaders..." See HBCA B.42/b/25 fo 4, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Cocking at Severn House, 7 March 1780.

[90] HBCA A.6/12 fo 110, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Samuel Hearne and Council, 13 May 1778.

[91] HBCA A.11/15 fo 50d, London Correspondence Inwards, General Letter from Churchill to London, 29 August 1778.

His superiors responded harshly, seemingly unwilling to consider the real difficulties and problems in implementing these policies:

> It is with the greatest Displeasure We find the white Whale Fishery so beneficial to the Nation and the Company was wholly neglected last Year, and expect that more Attention will have this Year been paid to it, We think that two of our Sailors being disabled by Illness is a lame excuse...this proves how blam‸^{e}able Our Chief must have been in the Execution of the Trust reposed in him.[92]

After receiving this response Hearne tried again to explain the situation: "It is the greatest mortification to us to find that your Honours is never fully satisfyed with our conduct respecting the White Whale Fishery...a succession of unavoidable events rendered it very unsuccessful last year."[93] His words can easily be interpreted as reflecting exasperation. Both Hearne and the London Committee faced problems that the other did not, or did not want to, understand; Hearne tried to implement policies that he believed could not succeed as ordered, and the London Committee searched for ways to sustain the HBC in economically trying times. Each party, consumed with confronting its own problems seemed to find it easier to hold the other party responsible when these problems could not be resolved.

From the late 1770s onward Hearne's enthusiasm for his job waned. Nowhere in any of his letters does he ponder the wondrousness of his working environment or mention any new policy initiatives as he did in his early years as chief factor. His letters, whether to the London Committee or to fellow chief factors, generally expound upon the negative aspects of his job and primarily upon his frustrations with his superiors. For example, after having carried on a discussion with fellow chief factor Humphrey Marten about how the ship's crews pilfered goods intended for HBC posts, Hearne went on to complain that the

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[92] HBCA A.6/12 fos 109d, 110, 137d, London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, Letter to Samuel Hearne and Council, Churchill, 13 May 1778 and 12 May 1779. Not only was the committee's reply harsh, they had based it upon their own misreading of the general letter. Hearne's frustration is understandable.

[93] HBCA A.11/15 fo 58, London Correspondence Inwards, General Letter from Churchill, 17 September 1779.

London Committee then held its chief factors responsible for the missing goods: "the individual or two, like you, and myself, that have used every means in our power to prevent any thing of that kind are through spite held out to our short-sighted Masters as specticals of contempt and enimies to their Interest."[94] From Hearne's perspective he had no choice but to follow through with projects he felt were sure to falter and yet be prepared to assume responsibility for what he presumed to be their inevitable failure. It is impossible that Hearne was ignorant of the London Committee's shifted perception of him, from the dogged and determined explorer who had persevered to resolve a century-old mystery to the stubborn and misled manager who naively and single-handedly was directing Churchill, and therefore the HBC, to certain ruin - a bit of an exaggeration perhaps but the description displays emotional integrity.

In the early 1780s the London Committee presented Hearne with another plan to expand the northern trade. This time they wanted him to open a post at Chesterfield Inlet.[95] Once again Hearne felt compelled to respond negatively:

> I have considered Your Honour,' plan for an extention of your Trade by the way of Chesterfields Inlett and wish ~~it~~ I could give you the least hopes of Success but to the contarary I am well assured that no advantage will ever arrise from that expedition. There is ‸no Indians who frequent that Part except a few Poor Esquimaux nor is there any tribes of Indians that could be enduced to trade there excep those who have annual traffick with us at this factory...but if Your Honours are detirmined to prosicute that plan you may depend on my readiness to push the same with vigour[.][96]

For a change, the London Committee respected Samuel Hearne's criticisms: "We accept the reason you have offered against the Expedition to Chesterfields Inlett yet the declining Trade at Churchill demands the most strenuaous ecertions of our Servants there. and we wish to hear any proposals from you to recover our Trade and to intercept those who prosper by our Inactivity."[97] They even left an opening for Hearne to present a trade modification or new project of his own. However, it is not known whether Hearne ever saw their acknowledgment of his experience, for it was due for delivery the summer the French attacked York and Churchill. It is certain that this letter had no impact on the otherwise tense dialogue between Samuel Hearne and his employers.

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[94] HBCA B.42/b/28 fo 4d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Marten, York [autumn, 1785]. The discussion began with B.42/b/26 fos 9-9d, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Marten to Hearne, 6 January 1784; B.42/b/26 fos 11d-12, Churchill Correspondence Book, letter from Hearne to Marten, 19 January 1784.

[95] HBCA A.6/13 fo 12, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Samuel Hearne and Council, 16 May 1781.

[96] HBCA A.11/15 fo 91, London Correspondence Inwards, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 25 August 1781.

Following the rebuilding of Churchill after the French attack in 1782, the London Committee's stern words of encouragement regarding the necessity of increasing Churchill's trade: "after the Losses We have sustained by the ravages of the Enemy, are severely felt by the Proprietors, We recommend in the strongest manner, a system of Oeconomy, Frugality, Diligence to mark the line of your Conduct on every Occasion.."[98] Aside from rebuilding the post and re-establishing the trade, the governing committee wished to "direct that the White Whale Fishery may be prosecuted with all the Attention Circumstances will admit of" and that "[t]he interruption that the Calamities of last Year has given to Our Northern Trade, makes it necessary to consider what Advantages may arise from prosecuting Our former Orders [to open a northern post at Chesterfields Inlet]."[99] Hearne tried again to dissuade his employers from relying so heavily upon expanding the sloop trade:

> The Northern Trade has for many Years been Honoured with a greater share of your attention than it deserved, and it is the Interest of some persons in your service to Confirm you in your present opinion, You must certainly greatly underrate my knowlage of your service, and true Interest,

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[97] HBCA A.6/13 fo 46d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Hearne and Council, 29 May 1782.

[98] HBCA A.6/13 fo 78, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Samuel Hearne and Council, May 1783.

[99] HBCA A.6/13 fos 78d, 80, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Samuel Hearne and Council, May 1783.

> and transfer it to those that know nothing of either. You have frequently heard my sentiments on that subject both by letter as well as verbally when in England last year. I never will alter my opinion as it is founded on a thorough knowlage of every advantage - or disadvantage real or imaginary that can possibly be gained or lost on that Trade, But as it is the duty of a Servant to obay the commands of his masters, You may in future depend on my readiness to forward that Branch, tho I know it is contarary to that system of Policy which always ought to be carefully observed in this Country.- That I have ever been unjustly censured respecting the Northern Trade is but too True, and that I shall continue so to be is much to be feared, for should that Branch not answer your utmost expectations and wishes, I am sure to be blamed...[100]

Clearly the circumstances in the years following the French attack made the success of the committee's plan unlikely given the almost complete disappearance of the homeguard Cree and the Chipewyan. Furthermore, Hearne had decided to use the sloop during the summer of 1783-84 as a temporary warehouse for fifty tons of dry goods, since the HBC had not sent over enough planks to construct a warehouse and trees of the proper height and width simply no longer existed around Churchill.[101] The London Committee also proceeded to hold Hearne responsible for not ensuring that whale lines had been brought on board in London, even though there were many supplies missing from the ship's hold when it arrived in the fall of 1783:

> The White whale Fishery depending solely on the attention &Industry of our Servants and (not like the Furr trade) procured from the natives, made us not in the least doubt but it would have been prosecuted with success according to our express directions: We are therefore not a little disappointed to find Mr Hearne has neglected to indent for whale lines while he was at home [London, 1782-83] as he was perfectly acquainted with our Intentions of prosecuting that branch of Commerce. We have complied with the Indent of Whale lines as desired and ordered another Whale Boat and we direct that Fishery to be prosecuted with all possible

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[100] HBCA A.11/15 fos 105d-106, London Correspondence Inwards, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 10 September 1784.

[101] HBCA B.42/a/103 fo 30, Churchill Post Journal, 7 June 1784.

> spirit and diligence.[102]

They also persevered with placing importance on the development of the northern coastal trade:

> Our constant regard for the service of the Public in general, equally with our attention to the Interests of the Company, which We deem inseparable, render it necessary that the Discoveries and Trade to the Northward be prosecuted as much as possible: We direct therefore that the Sloop be sent thither annually as before the destruction of Prince of Wales's Fort: We conceiye that Trade to be capable of great improvement, it is therefore our express order that the Master of the Sloop be furnished with every kind of Trading Goods than can be agreable to the Indians and Esquimaux...and that he be furnished with prime Commodities, and in the fullest manner, that nothing may obstruct his endeavours to enlarge it...in short, We recommend this subject to your particular attention, as its prosperity will be very acceptable to us, and a proof that you exert yourselves in our Interests.[103]

The committee's response to Hearne's actions was shaped by the economically trying situation produced jointly by the intrusion of the Nor'Westers, the loss of so many Native traders to smallpox, and the destruction of two of its key posts. But instead of acknowledging the difficulties, the London Committee saw only red ink:

> When we find so large a Quantity as 5675 Beaver in goods have been expended at a time when the Trade sent home was only 929 Made Beaver, We expect help being alarmed at such a View of our Affairs at Churchill more particularly when to this We add the very large Quantity of Trading goods totally cut off without account under the head of Damaged &c including 346 yards of Cloth, 58 yards of Duffles, 78 yards of Baise, 45 Blankets, 40 Shirts, 40 pair of shoes, and other things to the Value of 2354 Beaver in Trade; We cannot think all this could be entirely useless, and We are confirmed in this Opinion by finding part of it was made into Cloathing for the Men, and linings for Cabbins: Mr. Hearne would have done better had he waited our Determination on this Subject or else returned what was

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[102] HBCA A.6/13 fo 105, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Samuel Hearne and Council, 19 May 1784.

[103] HBCA A.6/13 fo 106d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Samuel Hearne and Council, 19 May 1784.

of no service.[104]

Thus through the remaining years of Hearne's term of chief factor the London Committee placed responsibility for the success of the northern trade solely upon Hearne's shoulders, warning him: "We shall ascribe its success to your prudent Conduct, or on the contrary its failure must be imparted to you."[105]

Samuel Hearne countered their threat with suggestions on how to make whaling and the northern sloop trade more profitable by altering the wage structure for seaman and harpooners. [106] He also tried to follow their orders on another new, and problematic, project to seek out water-based inland trade routes directly from Churchill.[107] By this time, it was well known amongst residents of Churchill that the rivers connected to Churchill did not provide the best routes to the interior, nor were the local Natives familiar with the routes leading much further inland. When Hearne elected to modify his orders and thus salvage the project by sending the expedition on to Cumberland House, from where Hearne believed they would have a better chance to devise inland routes, his employers were displeased. William Jefferson vindicated Hearne's actions on this matter:

> We are sorry that the only way M^r. Hearne had left, to obey Your Orders did not meet with Your Approbation. The Indians that then came Down, never had been within many Hundred Miles of the Place, You wish to be Informed of, and so M^r. Hearne well knew from the best Information from the Natives that nothing can possibly be done, towards forwarding Inland Expeditions from this Factory He thought it most prudent to get Malchom Ross and George Charles, convey'd to Cumberland House, were [sic] they might with much ease have procured Indians that would have conducted

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[104] HBCA A.6/13 fo 132, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC Official, letter to Samuel Hearne and Council, 4 May 1785.

[105] HBCA A.5/2 fo 113d, London Correspondence Outwards - HBC General, letter to Samuel Hearne, 19 May 1784.

[106] HBCA A.11/15 fos 124-125, 126, London Correspondence Inwards, letters from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 29 August 1785 and 17 August 1786.

[107] HBCA A.5/2 fo 130, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to Samuel Hearne, [11 or 4] May 1785.

> them to every Part, you wish to be Surveyed.[108]

His words had no effect on the committee's evaluation of Samuel Hearne.

By the end of Hearne's HBC career, the London Committee no longer found his opinions or explanations persuasive. They warned Hearne's successor, William Jefferson, against mimicking the former chief factor's attitudes: "M^r. Hearne had objections to the northern Trade which We are far from thinking conclusive; We desire therefore that you punctually obey our Orders and give every encouragement to that branch of Commerce as well as to the White Whale Fishery."[109] In a series of letters written or drafted by Samuel Hearne in 1785, he finally expressed his frustration with the unjustness of his superiors' comments. Responding to their criticism regarding his decision to use the water-damaged blankets to make clothing and wall-linings, Hearne wrote:

> M^r Hearne is extremely sorry he did not wait your Determination respecting the disposal of those Goods. at the same time he cannot reflect on his Conduct and think they were so very badly applyed and is still in hopes of Your concurrance theirin when you consider our Situation dureing the first winter Destitute of Every kind of furr or Leather Cloathing to encounter out Door Duty, and when Retired into our miserable habitation we had nothing but half Inch weather Boarding to shelter us from the Rigour of a Hudsons bay winter. [110]

Hearne made one last attempt to address his superiors' views:

> Mr Hearne feeling himself extremely hurt by the many and Repeated tho' unmerited accusations of abuse of his Charge and Authority and having long been looked on as an Enemy to Your Interest, thinks it a Duty

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[108] HBCA A.11/15 fo 136, London Correspondence Inwards, General Letter from Churchill to London, -- 1787. At the time this letter was composed, William Jefferson was chief factor, but during the time of the events in question he served as second to Hearne.

[109] HBCA A.5/2 fo 170, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to William Jefferson, 23 May 1787. Jefferson succeeded Hearne as chief factor of Churchill.

[110] HBCA A.11/15 fo 112, London Correspondence Inwards, General Letter from Churchill to London, 28 August 1785.

> incumbent on himself in Vindication of his Conduct to assert in this publick manner. that after Nineteen Years hard Servitude in a Variety of Stations and Places of Trust he Can with the strictest Truth and the boldest Confidence assert that your Interest in Perference to his own ease happyness and emolument has ever been the Director of his Conduct. With equal Confidence he defies his most implacable Enemies to charge him with the Smallest Breach of fidelity on any Occasion whatever but to the Contrary it is well known he has served you too Scrupelous and too Faithfully to become a Respectable Character in your Service.[111]

Hearne felt maligned by the committee's generally negative responses to his suggestions and actions as chief factor over the years. Indeed, there is reason to believe that by the last few years of his time with the HBC, Hearne's reputation had been severely tarnished, as is indicated by the London Committee's terse response to his attempt to explain himself:

> We have great Reason to be offended at the Answeres We received...We certainly should have manefested our displeasure in a manner no ways agreeable , could We have imagined that any officer / besides M^r^. Hearne / was capable of being the Author or abettor of Sentiments & expressions so disrespectful to Us & disgraceful to themselves. [112]

This last series of statements suggest a possible motive for Hearne not only to work on the narrative as an outlet for his frustrations with work, but also to consider publishing it in order to assert the righteousness of his position, actions, and character, and to confirm his views in the public sphere. Hearne's steadily deteriorating relationship with the London Committee is one of the few identifiable forces in the documentary record that provided him with motive to work on the Coppermine River narrative. If Hearne had other reasons for expanding his Coppermine River journals he did not explain them to the London Committee.

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[111] HBCA A.11/15 fo 115, London Correspondence Inwards, General Letter from Churchill to London, 28 August 1785.

[112] HBCA A.5/2 fo 171, London Correspondence Outwards - General Series, letter to William Jefferson, 23 May 1787. They refer to correspondence from Hearne as "last year" but in fact they mean the letter of 1785. Hearne didn't write to them in 1786, general letter or private.

Another source of motivation for Hearne to work on the narrative, and indeed publish it, may have come from Hearne's curiosity about the natural environment. Some evidence attesting to Hearne's interest is found in Graham's "Observations." In the volumes catalogued as HBCA E.2/9, 12 and 13 there are other sections besides the attack scene that derive from the Coppermine River journey, such as Hearne's description of the Alarm Bird, the Copper Indians, and the country in which the northern copper mines are located. As mentioned earlier, Hearne held the sub-arctic environment in respectful wonderment, as demonstrated in the letter commenting on the potential effects of cold air upon his constitution and by his meticulous drawings of his surroundings. Indeed, *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* is full of Hearne's detailed descriptions of all forms of life, both woven into the narrative itself and in a separate chapter devoted solely to the topic of local flora and fauna. In many of these latter descriptions Hearne alluded to experiments he conducted upon these creatures. Often the trials included observing the effects of confinement upon the animals' ability to thrive. Other times Hearne's experiments were more deleterious, as with frogs, spiders, and grubs:

> I have frequently seen them [frogs] dug up with the moss, (when pitching tents in Winter,) frozen as hard as ice; in which state the legs are easily broken off as a pipe-stem, without giving the least sensation to the animal; but by wrapping them up in warm skins, and exposing them to a slow fire, they soon recover life, and the mutilated animal gains its usual activity; but if they are permitted to freeze again, they are past all recovery, and are never more known to come to life. The same may be said of the various species of Spiders, and all the Grub kind...The Spiders, if let fall from any height on a hard substance, would rebound like a grey pea; and all the Grub kind are so hard frozen as to be as easily broken as a piece of ice of the same size; yet when exposed to a slow heat, even in the depth of Winter, they will soon come to life, and in a short time recover their usual motions.[113]

The references to Hearne performing the experiments while in a tent in winter suggest these undertakings occurred prior to his assuming the role of chief factor in 1776. For it was only between the fall of 1767 and the end of 1775 that he spent extended periods of time in winter away from the post hunting partridges and gathering wood, with only a tent for shelter.[114] Thus Hearne demonstrated an interest in the natural world from early on in his career, and certainly not only once he had encountered La Pérouse. Indeed, Hearne may have been drawn to Graham because of this shared interest, rather than Graham stimulating Hearne to begin such observations. Nonetheless, the fact that Hearne gathered this knowledge at a time when relatively little was known in Europe about the Arctic and sub-Arctic environments means that he stood to make an important contribution by sharing this information. For example, Hearne later corrected many of the standard beliefs about animals such as the beaver.[115] This too could have been part of his motive to rework the narrative and to publish it.

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[113] *A Journey* (1958), 255.

When Hearne left Churchill upon retirement in August of 1787 he took up residence in London.[116] He soon learned that versions of his Coppermine River journals had travelled beyond the confines of the HBC and according to Hearne himself, this situation fortified his decision to bring the narrative into the public sphere:

> Being well assured that several learned and curious gentlemen are in possession of manuscript copies of, or extracts from, my Journals, as well as copies of the Charts, I have been induced to make this copy as correct as possible, and to publish it; especially as I observe that scarcely any two of

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[114] He could not have been referring to the time he spent in a tent upon his return to Churchill in 1783 because he had moved indoors by the time winter arrived.

[115] Historian Richard Glover believes that during Hearne's forced leave to London during the 1782-83 season he met with Thomas Pennant, a zoologist then preoccupied in collecting material for his upcoming *Arctic Zoology* (London 1784-85). Indeed, Hearne used Pennant's book as the organizing principle for the last chapter in *A Journey*. See Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xxxviii. Glover does not provide any evidence of their meeting other than the fact that Hearne obviously later used Pennant's work heavily. Internal analysis is the most effective way of assessing the validity of Glover's statement and thus will be addressed in Chapter 7.

[116] Hearne transferred command of Churchill to William Jefferson on 16 August 1787 and then stepped aboard the London-bound *Seahorse* four days later. See HBCA B.42/a/108 fos. 27d, 28, Churchill Post Journal, 16 and 20 August 1787. In London he lived at 8 Leigh Street, Red Lion Square. See Richard Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey...* (1958), xxxix.

> the publications that contain extracts from my Journals, agree in the dates when I arrived at, or departed from, particular places.[117]

He also discovered that his detractors were not limited to the London Committee. Chief among them was Alexander Dalrymple who sought to revise Hearne's maps and route.[118] That Dalrymple played some role in pushing Hearne toward publication seems apparent since Hearne focuses much of the preface to *A Journey* upon responding to Dalrymple's charges: "I do not by any means wish to enter into a dispute with, or incur the displeasure of Mr. Dalrymple; but thinking as I do, that I have not been treated in so liberal a manner as I ought to have been, he will excuse me for endeavouring to convince the Public that his objections are in a great measure without foundation.[119] The ultimate impact of Dalrymple's views and the situation of multiple and incorrect versions of the Coppermine River journals upon Hearne's decision to rework his Coppermine River journals and to publish is unknown, for evidence from the surviving narrative versions (Chapter Five) certainly suggests that he had made the decision to work on the narrative long before retirement. Furthermore, as demonstrated above, he seems to have had sufficient motivation to publish from a variety of sources by 1787. Most likely these two post-retirement experiences merely solidified a pre-existing plan.

The last possible source of the push to publish may have derived from Hearne's personal financial situation. According to a short biography of Hearne attached to a 1797 review of *A Journey*, Hearne retired with "a few thousands...and might, had he been blessed with prudence, have enjoyed many years of ease and plenty; but he had lived so long where money was of no use that he seemed insensible of its value here, and lent it with little or no security to those he was scarcely acquainted with by name."[120] Scholars Richard Glover and Mary Hamilton assumed Hearne was a poor manager of his finances based upon this information.[121] They seized upon this conclusion to infer a possible motive to publish his manuscript; the money Hearne would receive from the sale of his manuscript would help alleviate his financial circumstances. Evidence from the HBCA's *Officers' and Servants' Ledger* for Churchill does record withdrawals from Hearne's account after his retirement and by 1789 his account was empty.[122]

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[117] Hearne, "Preface," *A Journey* (1958), li. I argue that Hearne had motivation to publish long before he returned to London in 1787.

[118] Dalrymple published his concerns about Hearne's work in *Memoir of a Map of the Lands about the North Pole* (London, 1789).

[119] Hearne, "Preface," *A Journey* (1958), li. The entire preface is riddled with responses to Dalrymple's criticisms.

However, based upon the HBC's records of Hearne's finances it does not appear that Hearne squandered his money. In letters from Hearne to the London Committee he often requested that portions of his pay be sent to his mother Diana Paine, and sister, Sarah (Hearne) LePetit.[123] The HBC's ledgers confirm the company abided by his request with regular withdrawals made on behalf of his family.[124] Hearne also sent money to the company's secretary to pay other bills to persons such as Hugh Moar, William Renton, and William Linklater, to the heirs of John Smith, and to former HBC Captains

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[120] Tyrrell, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1911), 3. It was originally published in the *European Magazine and London Review* (June 1797), as part of a review of Hearne's posthumously published narrative.

[121] Hamilton suggests "he seems to have had serious financial problems because of poor management" and Glover believes Hearne died poor because he was a generous man and gave away is saved earnings. See Hamilton, "Samuel Hearne." *Profiles in Canadian Literature*, vol 3 (Toronto and Charlottetown: Dundurn Press, 1982), 15; Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xlii; Glover, "Sidelights on Samuel Hearne," *The Beaver* (1947), 14.

[122] HBCA A.16/11 fo 134. Also, the HBC continued to supplement his account from 1787 until its closure in 1789 with a percentage of the Northern Trade's income of Made Beaver.

[123] Some examples include HBCA A.11/14 fo 175, London Correspondence Inwards, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 28 August 1772; A.11/15 fo 29, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 2 September 1776; A.11/15 fo 47, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 28 August 1778.

[124] HBCA A.16/10 fo 125d; A.16/11 fos 106d, 118d, Officers' and Servants' Ledger.

Christopher and Fowler.[125] Throughout Hearne's employment with the HBC, he never had large amounts of money saved in his HBC account; for example, the ledger for 1782 indicated that his debits and credits were even.[126] While Hearne routinely paid his bills and helped out his family, there is other evidence he had another private and non-HBC account into which he made regular deposits. The London Committee had suggested far back in 1773 that they would help him open such an account upon awarding him the Ł200 gratuity for his efforts in locating the copper mines:

> Being desirous that you should hereafter enjoy the benefit of your Labours in the early Stage of Life We did not comply with your Order in paying your Balance of Wages and the Gratuity to be allowed you, but as the whole Sum due to you is Ł272.16.6 We have places Ł258 part thereof in the purchase of Ł300 Bank Consolidated 3 &C Cent Annuities which will produce you Ł9 a year until such time as you shall chuse to alter the Mode of the present Investment.[127]

Hearne continued to place additional money in this account throughout his career in Rupert's Land; for example, he made the following request in 1777:

> Having forgot to draw for the ballance of my wages las Year, I now shall esteem it a favour if your honours will please to pay M^r^ Redknap the balance of wages due to me to the date hereof, also my servants wages, Bounty on the made beaver sent home this as well as last Year, and my Premiom on the Northern Trade for these two last Years all which Sums M^r^ Redknap is to place out in the public funds for my benifett.[128]

There is no indication in the HBC records of what happened to this account upon

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[125] HBCA A.16/11 fos 80, 92, 110, 114.

[126] HBCA A.16/11 fo 110.

[127] HBCA A.5/1 fo 152, letter from the London Committee to Hearne, 12 May 1773.

[128] HBCA A.11/115 fo 39d, London Correspondence Inwards, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 23 August 1777. Hearne made a similar request in 1781: see A.11/15 fo 91, letter from Hearne to the London Committee, 25 August 1781. William Redknap was the HBC's secretary when this account was first opened. After Redknap retired, he continued to manage the account for Hearne.

Hearne's retirement. It may be that he used it to subsist when living in London. Furthermore, the evidence that Hearne had decided to work on rewriting his journals long before his retirement suggests that he was not planning to sell his manuscript as a last ditch effort to scrape together some needed money. Thus, it seems unlikely that Hearne's financial situation served as a significant motivator for him to publish *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*.

Conclusion

I have demonstrated how the selective application of the biographical approach to the story of Samuel Hearne and the development of the Coppermine River narrative yields significant insight not only into Hearne's writing process, but also into the limits of surviving documentary evidence. The HBCA records simply do not directly address much of what I want to know about Samuel Hearne: namely, if he carried his copies of his Coppermine River journals with him to York and Cumberland House, when specifically he sat down to work on the narrative and what he wrote at each interval, and why exactly he decided to transform the journals and eventually publish the narrative. Despite these limitations, it is still possible to rule out previous theories about the production of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* and replace them with convincing alternatives. For example, it is now clear that La Pérouse did not provide Hearne with the initial stimulus in the late summer of 1782 to transform his journals into a narrative format: this process had already occurred by the time Hearne shared his draft manuscript with Andrew Graham by the early part of 1774. Yet for the most part, the available documentary evidence permits only a significant degree of deduction and indirect evidence in order to piece together a plausible scenario for the creation of *A Journey*. By examining Hearne's work patterns, the physical environment in which he laboured, as well as his access to paper and ink, I identified a number of highly unfavourable periods for working on the narrative project. Included in this category are the times he toiled away from the post hunting and felling wood, travelled at length in canoe, and rebuilt Churchill. This process highlights the summer of 1772 and two month-long periods in early 1774, and then the longer term framed by the time Hearne became chief factor in January 1776 until his death in 1792 (aside from the period encapsulated by the destruction and reconstruction of Churchill) as periods when Hearne had all he needed to work on the narrative.

Nowhere in the HBCA records does Hearne explicitly express his reasons to refashion his Coppermine River journals, nor does he explain his perhaps multi-faceted rationale for bringing the narrative into the public sphere. Once again, the best available evidence is indirect. Letters between Samuel Hearne and the London Committee reveal a story of increasing frustration on Hearne's part and deepening disappointment on his employers' part. Publishing the Coppermine River narrative offered Hearne an opportunity to correct the committee's views of his abilities and efforts, to emphasize and historicize a time when the committee held him in high regard. In the narrative he could confirm, or reinvent, himself as a gentleman, above the petty and wrongful accusations of his employers; as an honest man, full of integrity and sincerity; and as a competent explorer and observer, correcting the misinformation supplied by his detractors and offering new information on the natural world. It remains to explore if or how the internal analysis of the 1795 published Coppermine River narrative confirms the hypotheses from the first two approaches.

CHAPTER 7
THE KEY WITHIN: ESTABLISHING HEARNE'S WRITING PROCESS USING INTERNAL ANALYSIS OF *A JOURNEY TO THE NORTHERN OCEAN*

This last chapter focuses upon clues to Samuel Hearne's role in the genesis of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* that are located within the text itself. Elsewhere I have referred to this approach as internal analysis. The approach is based upon locating instances where the author has referred to specific events or facts that can be dated. By taking note of the date and the context in which the author placed the event (present or past tense), it is then possible to create a compositional time frame for the surrounding text. Once again, this technique illuminates the role of the author in creating and developing the text. Results from this approach reveal the pre-published text to be a fluid rather than fixed entity. Generally, scholars have used this approach as a supplement to the biographical and bibliographical approaches. This limited application is due to the small number of clues typically located in most texts. Consequently, the results from an internal analysis commonly produce no more than colourful commentary.

The scattered application of internal analysis can be found in most studies of Canadian exploration accounts. For example, Glyndwr Williams based his estimation of when Andrew Graham wrote certain sections of the E.2/9 volume of "Observations on Hudson's Bay" upon phrases like "last year 1771," and other sections based upon Graham's reference to the French attack of 1782 and to the two volumes of Thomas Pennant's *Arctic Zoology*, published in 1784 and 1785.[1] Germaine Warkentin, in her anthology of Canadian exploration accounts, found a reference in fur trader Pierre-Esprit Radisson's journal to the procession of Louis XIV and his wife, Maria Theresa of Spain. This event occurred on 26 August 1660, while Radisson was still on the voyage to Lake Superior. Warkentin concluded that Radisson could have heard about the event only upon completion of the voyage; therefore, he added this comment at a later date.[2] Warkentin also used evidence from within Graham's "Observations" to date the composition of a section in the E.2/12 volume. When Graham stated that the highest salary then received by a chief factor was between £50 and £100 per year, Warkentin deduced that he must have written this passage prior to 1770, after which the London Committee increased salaries.[3] She also found internal evidence to suggest that although fur trader David Thompson created the different versions of his narrative in the 1840s, he used only information describing the state of affairs during his time as a fur trader from earlier decades. For example, she believed that Thompson's statement that the Northwest could never supply the markets of the east because of the difficulty of transporting produce reflected a time when the canoe was the most efficient means of transportation. According to Warkentin, by the 1840s the HBC had begun to use American-based railways as an alternate means of transporting goods.[4] Bill Moreau, in his work on Thompson's *Travels*, used internal evidence to challenge the scholarly tendency to equate the time during which Thompson composed the narrative with the time about which Thompson wrote.[5] He cited Thompson's repeated references to life in Montreal, Thompson's comparison of Red River in 1798 and 1848, and Thompson's application of information gained in post-1812 field experiences to descriptions based on pre-1812 experiences.[6] In all of these cases, scholars have applied internal analysis sparingly, mostly as an aside or in a footnote.

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[1] Glyndwr Williams, ed., "Appendix B: The 'Observations' of Andrew Graham," *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay*, Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. 27 (London: HBRS, 1969), 355.

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[2] Germaine Warkentin, ed., "Pierre-Esprit Radisson," *Canadian Exploration Literature* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), 11 (textual reference), 23-24, endnote 46 (Warkentin's explanation).

[3] Warkentin, "Andrew Graham," *Canadian Exploration Literature*, 105 (textual reference), 109, endnote 19 (Warkentin's explanation).

[4] Warkentin, "David Thompson," 218 (textual reference), 232, endnote 46 (Warkentin's explanation).

[5] William Moreau, "David Thompson's Writing of His *Travels*: The Genetics of an Emerging Exploration Text" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1997), 36.

[6] Moreau, 35-36.

In the case of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, internal analysis has the potential to be particularly rewarding due to the large number of clues within the text. The value of this approach is heightened because the bibliographical and biographical approaches fail to discern the complete nature of Hearne's role in the genesis of the published text. To date, scholars have underutilized or ignored this approach in reference to *A Journey*; only Richard Glover has searched for internal evidence, and he cited just a small fraction of what is actually hidden within this text.[7]

Based on this type of evidence, Glover maintained that Hearne developed the components of *A Journey* (preface, introduction, narrative of the three attempts, chapter on the Chipewyan, chapter on sub-Arctic and Arctic flora and fauna) over a long period of time.[8] Glover postulated that Hearne wrote his preface and introduction in 1790, the chapter on the Chipewyan after Hearne's return to Churchill in the fall of 1783, and the chapter on flora and fauna after he retired to England in 1787.[9] As for the narrative in which Hearne recounted the three attempts to locate the northern copper mines, Glover refrained from offering a precise theory on where and when Hearne worked on the narrative itself, other than suggesting that Hearne revised the text both before La Pérouse's arrival and after Hearne's return to Churchill in 1783. Glover's theories require redressing for a number of reasons. In a number of cases he assigned the incorrect date to a clue or misinterpreted its significance. In addition, Glover overlooked a considerable number of clues.[10]

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[7] Glover made 12 references to internal clues within the body of the text. See Glover, *A Journey* (1958), editor's footnotes on pages 48, 53, 70, 72, 83, 103, 107, 116, 155, 161, 209, and 220. He described additional clues pertaining to Hearne's preface and introduction, as well as presenting his overall theories concerning compositional time frame for the whole text, in his editor's introduction.

[8] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xxxi.

[9] Glover made his deduction concerning the date of Hearne's introduction based upon Hearne's reference to Captain Duncan's voyage in the summer of 1790, which indicated that Hearne wrote this component following Duncan's voyage. Glover also believed that Hearne finished it prior to the release of Umfreville's *The Present State of Hudson's Bay* (1790), for Hearne made no mention of Umfreville in his discussion of his critics. See "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xl. Regarding the chapter on the Chipewyan, Glover based his hypothesis on Hearne's references to Matonabbee, who died during the winter of 1782-83, in the past tense; see "Editor's Introduction," xxxix. Glover's conclusion regarding the flora and fauna chapter was based upon Hearne's use of the two volumes of Pennant's *Arctic Zoology* (1784 and 1785), and Hearne's reference to netting partridges in 1786; see "Editor's Introduction," xl.

There are a number of observations about the layout and structure of *A Journey* that are instructive in revealing Hearne's role in the genesis of its contents. It is important to note that the order in which the sections of *A Journey* appear do not necessarily reflect the order in which Hearne composed them. The assumption behind the composition of a story is that the writer begins with Chapter 1 and proceeds through to the end. However, in this case, because Hearne knew the outcome before he began composing any part of the narrative, he could have started writing about events that took place at any point in the account. As disclosed in Chapter 5, bibliographic evidence indicates that Hearne initially reworked only certain aspects from his attempts to locate the mines, all of which derived from part way through his third attempt. One should also be aware of the nature of editing during Hearne's time. Hearne started the process with a series of rough notes from his third attempt and eventually transformed them into a narrative. However, it would have been extraordinarily painstaking for Hearne to have rewritten an entire chapter each time he wished to add new material. Instead, once he was satisfied with the main body of the text (which he could have redrafted a number of times), he would have attached additional material on a separate piece of paper or squeezed it in at the bottom or margins of the text, depending on the length of the note and the available blank space surrounding the main text. Theoretically, all of these supplementary remarks appeared in *A Journey* as footnotes. Whereas footnotes generally are used today to clarify points or to reference related works, and are composed simultaneously with the main body of the text, in many cases the footnotes in *A Journey* appear to be the product of a later revisitation of the text. I will proceed to assess the internal evidence in each section of *A Journey*, beginning with Hearne's preface.

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[10] I was able to identify approximately 60 clues within the complete text of *A Journey* as compared to Glover's 12 footnoted references and the generalized observations he made in his introduction.

Samuel Hearne used the preface to *A Journey* to disclose some of his motives for publishing the Coppermine River narrative and to indicate the nature of his editorial methods. Hearne cited his wish to correct Alexander Dalrymple's misinformed criticism of the explorer's astronomical and natural observations: "I do not wish by any means to enter into a dispute with, or incur the displeasure of Mr. Dalrymple; but thinking as I do, that I have not been treated in so liberal a manner as I ought to have been, he will excuse me for endeavouring to convince the Public that his objections are in a great measure without foundation."[11] Hearne also supplied in the preface a second explanation for his motive to publish:

> [b]eing well assured that several learned and curious gentlemen are in possession of manuscript copies of, or extracts from, my Journals, as well as copies of the Charts, I have been induced to make this copy as correct as possible, and to publish it; especially as I observe that scarcely any two of the publications agree in the dates when I arrived at, or departed from, particular places.[12]

In terms of editorial methodology, he commented that he had " in some instances added to the remarks I had before made," and in other places:

> I have taken the liberty to expunge some passages...as being no ways interesting to the Public, and several others have undergone great alterations; so that, in fact, the whole may be said to be new-modelled, by being blended with a variety of Remarks and Notes that were not inserted into the original copy, but which my long residence in the country has enabled me to add.[13]

Indeed, the internal clues left by Hearne in the narrative section help to identify the contents of these "Remarks and Notes" and approximately when he wrote them.

Within the preface itself there are a number of internal clues as to when Hearne formulated this particular component. I will go through all of the internal evidence contained in the preface to demonstrate the process by which I deduced the compositional time-frame for the components of *A Journey*. Hearne's reference to "when I was on that Journey, and for several years after" points to a composition date no earlier than the mid- to late 1770s.[14] But, elsewhere in the preface Hearne stated he had received permission to view the HBC's reports of his three attempts as well as their copies of his maps, which suggests an even later date; he could have written this section only during his forced sabbatical in 1782-83 or upon his retirement in 1787.[15] However, he also mentioned Thomas Pennant's two volumes of *Arctic Zoology*. Hearne's inclusion of these books, published in 1784 and 1785, eliminates the sabbatical year as the time of composition.[16] Hearne's reference to "my long residence in the country" implies a date toward the end of his career or thereafter.[17] The time frame is further narrowed by a series of clues pointing to a post-retirement composition; specifically, the references Hearne made to Alexander Dalrymple's 1789 pamphlet, *Memoir of a Map*, and the death of a former colleague, Thomas Hutchins, who had passed on in July 1790.[18] Hearne also noted a voyage to Hudson Bay, led by Captain Charles Duncan, which departed from London in the summer of 1790.[19] These last clues confirm that Hearne wrote the preface some time after the summer of 1790. Thus, the latest internal clue (July 1790) points to the earliest moment when Hearne could have composed the preface. There is no evidence, such as reflective footnotes, that Hearne worked on this section in stages separated by longer stretches of time. Indeed, the fact that Hearne was able to comment on some of the changes he had imposed upon the Coppermine River narrative, indicates that this component was one of the last things he worked on before submitting the manuscript for publication in October 1792.[20]

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[11] Hearne, "Preface," *A Journey* (1958), li.

[12] Hearne, "Preface," li.

[13] Hearne, "Preface," xlix, li-lii.

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[14] Hearne, xlix.

[15] Hearne, li.

[16] Hearne, lii.

[17] Hearne, lii.

[18] Hearne, xlix, lii; Glyndwr Williams, "Andrew Graham and Thomas Hutchins: Collaboration and Plagiarism in 18th-Century Natural History," *The Beaver* 308.4 (1978), 6.

[19] Hearne, lii.

Glover believed that Hearne composed the preface between the summer of 1790 and the start of 1791. He argued that because Hearne neglected to comment on Edward Umfreville's *The Present State of Hudson's Bay*, the explorer must have finished the preface before Umfreville's book was released to the public. Glover assumed that since Umfreville's book was also published in 1790, Hearne wrote the preface before the end of that year. Glover's reasoning is problematic for two reasons. First, it is not known when in 1790 this book began to be sold; it is possible that it began circulation much earlier in the year, perhaps even before Duncan sailed. Second, it is not known how widely or quickly the news of Umfreville's book spread. While it is possible that Hearne had yet to hear of the book while he composed the preface, it more likely that Umfreville and his book were not subjects Hearne wished to discuss at this point. Certainly Hearne eventually became aware of Umfreville's work because he made reference to it in a footnote to a section in his introduction concerning the misinformed opinions of HBC critics.[21] Thus, it is not possible to state with assurance that Hearne finished his preface by the end of 1790. Instead, it is certain he created it after the summer of 1790 and before he submitted the entire manuscript for publication in October 1792.

In the introduction, the next component in *A Journey*, Hearne recounted some of the history of the search for the Northwest Passage and the northern copper mines, highlighting in particular the efforts of the HBC to locate these entities. He challenged the claims of some of the HBC's critics, such as Arthur Dobbs and Alexander Cluny.[22] He also explained why the HBC chose him to go on the inland expedition and he presented a copy of the company's instructions from the first attempt.[23] Hearne inserted a series of footnotes in reference to his instructions for going to the copper mines, but these notes are not reflective. Here he has employed the notes to elaborate on specific aspects of the instructions while presenting the sizable reference document in its entirety.

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[20] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), xlii-xliii.

[21] Hearne, "Introduction," *A Journey* (1958), lviii, first footnote. The wording of the note suggests that Hearne learned of the book after he had composed the initial draft. However, because Hearne did not list Umfreville alongside Dalrymple as one of the persons who had incorrectly copied the Coppermine River journals, it is unclear whether Hearne had read the book or merely had heard about it.

There are a number of internal clues to the compositional time frame for the introduction. Hearne referred to Moses Norton as the former governor of Churchill, and himself as Norton's successor, thus pointing to a composition date some time after late 1775, when Hearne first learned of his appointment. However, the fact that Hearne had access to the London Committee's instructions indicated that Hearne was back in London when he wrote this section.[24] While it is possible that copies of these letters were kept at Churchill, these letters would have been destroyed or taken by the French in 1782. There is no evidence in the HBCA that the company made additional copies of this material for continued storage at Churchill. Indeed, this later date is also supported by the tone Hearne used in a footnote to describe how the HBC evaluated his efforts as an employee:

> As a farther proof of the Company's being perfectly satisfied with my conduct while on that Journey, the Committee unanimously appointed me Chief of Prince of Wales's Fort in the Summer of 1775; and Mr. Bibye Lake, who was then Governor, and several others of the Committee,

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[22] He specifically mentioned Dobbs' *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay* (1744); Henry Ellis' *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay* (1748); Joseph Robson's *An Account of Six Year's Residence in Hudson's Bay* (1752); T.S. Drage's *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* (1748); Cluny's *The American Traveller* (1769). See Hearne, "Introduction," (1958), lvii.

[23] Hearne stated that the HBC sought an intelligent person capable of observing the latitude and longitude and of making remarks, and that "I was pitched on as a proper person." See Hearne, "Introduction," lxiv.

[24] Hearne, lx, lxiv-lxv (footnote), lxvi-lxx.

honoured me with a regular correspondence as long as they lived."[25]

The fact that Hearne felt the need to display proof that the company was pleased with his work and that he enjoyed ongoing and cordial contact with certain members of the London Committee, implies that Hearne desired to counter a contrary opinion. As described in Chapter Six, the relationship between Hearne and the London Committee had soured during the 1780s. During this time, the committee repeatedly questioned Hearne's ability to carry out his duty as chief factor of Churchill. There is also a reference in the main body of the text to Captain Duncan's 1790 voyage. Thus, Hearne must have been working on the introduction after he learned of Duncan's voyage.

There is evidence that Hearne created the introduction in stages. In reference to a discussion of HBC critics, Hearne stated in a footnote that "[s]ince the above was written, a Mr. Umfreville has published an account of Hudson's Bay, with the same ill-nature as the former Authors."[26] Because Hearne did not mention that Umfreville had criticized the explorer's efforts or that Umfreville had copied and heavily edited an excerpt from a draft of the Coppermine River narrative, it seems that Hearne had only heard about this book. The fact that Hearne did not include his discussion of Umfreville's opinions in the main body of the text covering the same topic suggests that Hearne became aware of this book after he had finished writing the introduction. Hearne could have added the footnote any time after mid-1790 and before he submitted the manuscript for publication in late 1792, but likely after he had already composed a draft of the introduction with which he was satisfied. Therefore, the preface and the main body of the introduction share a similar generation time. Hearne composed both of these components while he resided in London, sometime after Captain Duncan's departure for Hudson Bay in the summer of 1790 (or Hutchins' death in July of that same year) and, obviously, before he submitted his manuscript for publication in October 1792.

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[25] Hearne, lxv. This note deserves further comment. The wording contains a number of Hearne's stylistic preferences, such as his consistent use of "farther" in place of "further," and his tendency to employ a haphazard style of punctuation as with the plural form of "Company's." Neither of these preferences correspond to the suggested uses described in eighteenth-century grammar books and dictionaries (see Chapter Four). The fact that his stylistic preferences have survived in the published text indicates that whoever edited the text left most of it alone.

[26] Hearne, "Introduction," lviii.

The next eight chapters of *A Journey* represent Hearne's Coppermine River narrative. In addition to Hearne's story of his three northern journeys, he added commentary and footnotes that reflected subsequent events from his long career with the HBC.[27] All of the internal clues are embedded in Hearne's commentary and footnotes. There is little remaining in *A Journey* of the original notes Hearne made while travelling in search of the mines.

Hearne's first attempt to reach the copper mines is covered in his Chapter One. The narrative of the event is told in six pages.[28] The only footnote in the chapter briefly explains sled traction in the cold. There are no internal clues within this chapter by which I can precisely date the composition of the narrative. However, the entire description of the attempt is written in the past tense and, in places, Hearne suggested that at the time he wrote this narrative he already knew the outcome of events. For example, in reference to Chawchinahaw's promise that the party would soon reach the woods, Hearne commented: "[t]hese accounts were so far from being true."[29] His words reflect not just a summary of a few days' events, they represent knowledge based upon the outcome of the entire first attempt. Thus, this narrative is not an exact replica of the journal or report, but a summary of what Hearne believed to be the most significant and interesting experiences from this attempt. It follows that Hearne composed it sometime after he returned to Churchill from this attempt. The absence of reflective footnotes may indicate that Hearne composed this component to his satisfaction within a relatively short span of time. Internal clues within the narrative of the second attempt illuminate Hearne's writing process further with respect to the summary of the first attempt.

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[27] The additional commentary both within the main body of the text and in footnotes is what Hearne meant in his preface by "Remarks and Notes" as I described earlier in the chapter.

[28] Once again I am using the 1958 edition of *A Journey* to make these observations. In the 1795 edition the font is larger and therefore there are more pages. However, the proportion of narrative to commentary would remain the same.

[29] Hearne, 2.

The second attempt to reach the mines comprises two chapters and twenty-eight pages of text. As with the chapter for the first attempt, the narrative component is written in the past tense and is a summary of Hearne's experiences. Evidence of his decision to condense material is contained within the main body of the text. For example, Hearne informed his readers that "[t]o record in detail each day's fare since the commencement of this journey, would be little more than a dull repetition of the same occurrences. A sufficient idea of it may be given in a few words, by observing that it may justly be said to have been either all feasting, or all famine."[30] Elsewhere, he proposed to summarize events because "[t]he remaining part of this month passed on without any interruption, or material occurrence, to disturb our repose, worth relating."[31]

Hearne also inserted approximately three pages of commentary, most of which he devoted to explaining how to perform what would have been routine activities, such as hunting partridges (ptarmigan), setting fishing nets under the ice in winter, and pitching a tent. In every case the explanatory commentary is composed in the present tense or reflects an action that is ongoing. The difference in verb tense between the narrative (past actions) and the commentary (ongoing actions) may have derived from Hearne's insertion of the commentary at the time he was summarizing the narrative; thus for Hearne, the events from the journey would have been in the past, while his descriptions of certain activities reflected his memory at the time of composition. For example, pertaining to the events of 21 March 1770, Hearne stated that because the Chipewyan had decided to remain in one location for an extended period of time, "we took additional pains in building our tent, and made it as commodious as the materials and situation would admit." Immediately following this occurrence, Hearne went on to explain how they set up their tents: "[t]o pitch an Indian's tent in winter, it is first necessary to search for a level piece of dry ground...the snow is then cleared away...a quantity of poles are then procured...the tent cloth is then fastened to a light pole..."[32] But without references to dated events, this explanation remains theoretical.

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[30] Hearne, 21.

[31] Hearne, 14.

As with the commentary, Hearne's use of retrospective statements in his footnotes suggests that he composed them sometime after he returned to Churchill in June 1772. In reference to the Dubawnt River (Hearne's Doobaunt River) Hearne noted that this river and all others he crossed during his journey ran to the east and north-east.[33] He could have made such an observation only upon completion of the journey. It is also highly probable that Hearne produced the footnoted-reference to the plant Wish-a-capucca some time after his three trips northward.[34] In this note Hearne maintained that the plant was found all along the lands bordering on Hudson Bay, but at the time of the three northern journeys Hearne had explored only the environs near Churchill, and very briefly at Knapp's Bay and Marble Island. It was after the search for the copper mines that Hearne travelled along the coast more extensively with his trips to York and Severn. Thus, Hearne probably made this observation about Wish-a-capucca after he finished his travels along the coast, activities which ended when he began his new job as chief factor of Churchill in January 1776. In another note, this one on cannibalism, Hearne made reference to meeting a man named Wapoos in the spring of 1775 at Cumberland House. At that time other Natives reported to Hearne their suspicion that Wapoos had partaken of human flesh.[35] Hearne could have added this note only after his years at that place. While there is no concrete evidence to indicate that Hearne composed these notes at a different time from when he created the narrative summary and accompanying commentary, the fact that Hearne did not include these explanations in the text, as he did with the instructions for tent construction, implies that these notes are the product of a later revision.

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[32] Hearne, 12-13.

[33] Hearne, 26, second footnote.

[34] Hearne, 26, first footnote.

[35] Hearne, 22, footnote. In this note Hearne does not provide information on Wapoos' ethnic identity, nor for the Natives camping near Cumberland House. They could have been Cree, Ojibwa, or possibly Blackfoot.

There is reason to suspect that Hearne prepared these first three chapters after he had written the narrative of the third attempt. Evidence for this theory derives from the point in the text where Hearne chose to describe certain items. Though the reader encounters deer and the Aurora Borealis during the chapters covering the first two attempts, only later in the text, during the narrative of the third attempt, does Hearne remark extensively on these items.[36] The same may also be said about Hearne's descriptions of the beaver and traits of Chipewyan and Cree women. However, Hearne had no reason to reproduce the story of his first two failed attempts until he was ready to submit the entire story for publication. It has already been established through the bibliographic and biographical approaches that Hearne had begun reworking his story of the third attempt a short while after his return from the mines. It is reasonable to assume that Hearne inserted the above-mentioned descriptions into the narrative of the third attempt because this was the portion of the Coppermine narrative he worked on first. Thus, when he composed the narratives of the first and second attempts, he had no need to elaborate upon strange phenomena like the Aurora Borealis because, in his mind, he had already provided this information to his audience. Internal evidence from Hearne's tale of the third attempt strengthens this hypothesis.

Hearne recounted the third and successful attempt to reach the mines in Chapters Four through Eight of *A Journey*. The first thing that needs to be said about this section of the narrative is that Hearne expanded it considerably in comparison to the account in the Stowe and Grenville manuscripts. Within the approximately 157 pages of text for this component of *A Journey*, Hearne devoted nearly sixty pages to commentary and fourteen pages to footnotes; in other words, he nearly doubled the length of the account by inserting related reflections.[37] Hearne constructed the narrative based upon events as described, more or less, in the Stowe and Grenville manuscripts, but the revised account is broken by frequent and often lengthy descriptions of experiences and observations post-dating the journey. Because of the amount of commentary and the nature of the observations within these reflections, it is much easier to identify how Hearne created the account for his third attempt because it is within these added reflections that most of the internal clues are hidden. I will use a number of examples to illustrate specific points, then I will discuss the construction of Hearne's account of the events near the Coppermine River and the accompanying remarks.[38] I will end the discussion of the Coppermine River narrative with a summary of the periods in which Hearne performed major revisions to this component of the text.

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[36] Hearne mentions deer throughout the first two attempts but provides descriptions of these animals and how to hunt them during his account of the third attempt; see pages 49-53, 127-130, 145-146. For the Aurora Borealis, see pages 37, 144-145.

Within the chapters describing the third account, Hearne makes periodic and partial references to authors and pieces of literature. Most of them predate Hearne's attempts to reach the copper mines and therefore are of no use in dating sections of the text.[39] It is only those books which post-date Hearne's journeys that are helpful. Richard

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[37] I qualified the total page length because the text at the beginning and end of chapters sometimes took up only part of a page. As well, at the beginning of each chapter there is an index of the main events found within that section, which I included in the total count. In order to calculate the pages of commentary and footnotes I pieced together by eye the paragraphs of commentary, or the lines from a footnote until, by my estimation, they had reached a page in length. The two types of commentary comprise forty-seven percent of the total text length.

[38] I have elected to refrain from describing every internal clue; instead, I will present a few examples that illuminate Hearne's writing process. However, in the final evaluation of how this account evolved, I have taken into account all of the clues.

[39] See the references to Postlethwayt, footnote on p 80; Waller, footnote on p 82; Ellis, 88; Drage, footnote on p 88; Crantz, 108; *Wonders of Nature and Art*, 149; Dobbs, 154, and footnote on p 193; du Pratz, 167; Robson, 195; The American Traveller, 195. Hearne's references are sometimes vague; indeed, there are four such notes that are unidentified in the 1958 edition. Hearne's reference to Postlethwayt's "article on Labour" is in fact the entry for "labour" in Malachy Postlethwayt's *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce. Translated from the French of the Celebrated Monsieur Savary...with Large Additions and Improvements*, vol. 2 (London, 1751), A-6. Hearne

Glover has mistakenly identified David Crantz's book, *The History of Greenland*, as one such source, apparently under the impression that the book was published in 1783.[40] In fact, it was released to the public as early as 1767.[41] Thus, the only book mentioned in the narrative of the third attempt that was published after Hearne's return from the mines was Thomas Pennant's two volumes of *Arctic Zoology* (1784 and 1785).

This book is worthy of a short discussion because not only did Hearne use it as a reference in the account of his third attempt, and heavily so in Chapter Ten of *A Journey* (on flora and fauna), but Pennant discussed material from an early version of the

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attempted to draw a parallel between his observation that Natives valued wooden objects much more when they were far away from the woods and Postlethwayt's statement that "the price of any thing, intrinsically, seems to take in...the quantity of the labour, with regard to the dearness of the labour." See page A, column 2. Hearne's Waller is the seventeenth-century English poet Edmund Waller (1606-1687). Collections of his work appear in *The Poetical Works of Edmund Waller* (London, 1729); *Poems on several Occasions* (London, 1770); *The works of Edmund Waller, Esq.: In verse and prose* (London, 1744). Although I found similar sounding lines to those quoted by Hearne, I could not find the poem from which Hearne borrowed four lines in any one of these collections. No author is listed for the work entitled *Wonders of Nature and Art*, 6 vols., 2nd ed. (London, 1768), which explains why Hearne referred to the creator of it as the "Compiler." There are no further editions of this book during Hearne's lifetime. In volume 6, under the section on North American animals, there is a five-page description of the beaver. The content is largely based on the work of Monsieur Sarrafin, a French physician in Canada who had dissected beavers. It is in this description that one finds the reference to beaver lodges with two entrances, not in Du Pratz's work as Hearne suggested. See *Wonders of Nature and Art*, vol. 6, pp 54-58. The reference Hearne made to a French writer named du Pratz appears to be Simone Antoine Le Page du Pratz, the author of *History of Louisiana*, which was first published in English in 1763 and then again in 1774. Hearne cited Du Pratz for suggesting that beaver lodges had two entrances. However, under the section on quadrupeds, Le Page du Pratz wrote "I shall not enlarge upon the *Beavers*, which are universally known, from the many descriptions we have of them." See *History of Louisiana* (1763), 69; (1774), 267. Glover and others have identified the remaining references; these works are also listed in the bibliography of this dissertation.

[40] Glover, *A Journey*, 107, editor's footnote. Glover connects Hearne's use of Crantz's book with a composition date of 1783.

[41] David Crantz, *The History of Greenland*, vol. 1 (London: Printed for the Brethren's Society, 1767). In this printing Crantz is spelled Cranz.

Coppermine River narrative in *Arctic Zoology*. References to Hearne are scattered throughout the first volume. In the "Advertisement" located at the front of the book, Pennant thanked Hearne and Andrew Graham, among many others, for their contributions to his book.[42] It is clear that Pennant had access to Hearne's maps for the layout of Pennant's map of Arctic regions from around the globe. Interestingly, on this map he labeled one body of water as Arathapescow Lake, the spelling of which is consistent with Hearne's preference up to 1786.[43] In reference to the Inuit living along the Arctic Ocean (Pennant's Icy Sea), he suggested that his readers visit the British Museum to view the Inuit implements Hearne had acquired during his travels.[44] Pennant also included a two-page description of highlights from Hearne's third attempt.[45] It is here that Pennant explained his connection with the Coppermine River narrative: "I have perused the journal, and had frequent conversation with Mr. Hearne the last year."[46] The only time Pennant would have been able to speak with Hearne after the explorer's return from the mines and before publication of *Arctic Zoology* would have been when Hearne was in London in late 1782 until the summer of 1783. Curiously, there are facts about the third attempt provided by Pennant that are not in the Stowe and Grenville manuscripts but are included in *A Journey*. Obviously Pennant could not have seen *A Journey*; therefore, what Pennant referred to as a journal must have been a version of the draft narrative.[47] Surprisingly, Pennant did not pay close attention to whatever it was that Hearne shared with him. Not only did Pennant erroneously claim that the Chipewyan built canoes at Thleweyaza Yeth, he also suggested that the location of the valuable copper mines remained undiscovered![48]

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[42] The "Advertisement" in *Arctic Zoology* is dated 1 February 1785.

[43] Hearne, "Introduction," lxvii, footnote; see also the discussion of this matter in Chapter 5 of this thesis, p 230.

[44] Thomas Pennant, vol. 1, *Arctic Zoology* (1784 and 1785), 163.

[45] Pennant, 175-77.

[46] Pennant, 176.

[47] For example, Churchill's latitude is given in the title of the Stowe MS, but is nowhere mentioned in *A Journey*.

When Pennant's work was published (1785), Hearne was back in Rupert's Land still struggling to rebuild the trade at Churchill that had suffered from the double disasters of the French attack and the smallpox epidemic, and was further compromised by the enterprising efforts of the Canadian traders. There is no record that Hearne requested or received Pennant's books while stationed in Rupert's Land; Hearne probably acquired them sometime after his arrival in London in the fall of 1787. Therefore Hearne's references to *Arctic Zoology* indicate that he composed that section after 1785, but most likely during his retirement after the fall of 1787. There is only one direct reference to this book in the narrative of the third attempt and it occurs in a footnote to Hearne's commentary on the buffalo.[49] Here Hearne challenged the description of the buffalo's size provided by Catesby, as cited in *Arctic Zoology*. Glover maintained that Hearne made two other indirect references to Pennant's work in the story of the third attempt. He suggested that Hearne's knowledge about the salmon of the Siberian "Eden" known as Kamchatka (Hearne's Kamschatka) came from *Arctic Zoology*.[50] However, it is possible that Hearne could have acquired this information through his conversations with Pennant during the fur trader's forced leave in London and therefore inserted this reference before retiring to London in 1787. Alternatively, Hearne could have acquired the same information from the 1768 publication of the *Wonders of Nature and Art*, in which the bounties of "Kamptschatka," including the incredible numbers of salmon, are also described.[51] Glover also claimed that Hearne's observation that wolverines are "great enemies to the beaver" is a direct quotation from Pennant's corresponding description.[52]

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[48] The Chipewyan built canoes at Clowey Lake.

[49] Hearne, 162, footnote.

[50] Hearne, 103.

[51] *Wonders of Nature and Art*, vol. 3 (1768), 88-89.

[52] Hearne, 149. Glover noted that Hearne used the same phrase in his observations of the wolverine in Chapter Ten; see page 240.

However, it is possible that Pennant borrowed the phrase from Hearne during their discussions in 1783. The analysis of other sections from the third attempt helps to resolve these possibilities by illuminating the process and timing by which Hearne created this component of *A Journey*.

One of the central assumptions behind this discussion of when Hearne wrote the sections of *A Journey* is that many of the footnotes derive from Hearne's desire to add recent relevant experiences to the text. There is sufficient evidence from the third account to prove this theory. In the last chapter covering the third attempt, Hearne provided a lengthy commentary on moose (about 3 pages). While describing various methods of killing moose, Hearne recounted a peculiar technique that he observed "in the Summer of one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, when I was on my passage from Cumberland House to York Fort."[53] Based on this evidence, Hearne probably wrote the entire section on the moose some time after this trip. The hunting description is followed by a paragraph on the ease of domesticating moose. Hearne inserted a footnote in this passage that indicates he composed this note at a later date: "[s]ince the above was written, the same Indian that brought all the above-mentioned young moose to the Factory had, in the year 1777, two others, so tame, that...the moose always followed him along the bank of a river."[54] Thus, according to the internal evidence, Hearne composed the commentary on the moose between 1775 and 1777. He could have created the footnote any time after 1777.[55]

Another example of this use of footnotes occurs in a section on Chipewyan traders. Hearne interrupted his account of what transpired at one of the mine sites with a lengthy commentary on the past trading practices of the Chipewyan. He made a number of references to events that enable me to date both his commentary and the related footnotes. Hearne first stated that the annual amount of furs brought by the Chipewyan to Churchill "till very lately, seldom or ever exceeded six thousand *Made Beaver per annum.*" He then described how peace between the Chipewyan and Cree had a positive effect on trade:

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[53] Hearne, 165. He described how "two boys killed a fine buck moose in the water, by forcing a stick up its fundament; for they had neither gun, bow, nor arrows with them" (165-66).

[54] Hearne, 166, second footnote.

[55] It is interesting to note that Hearne also stated his intention to provide additional information on the moose at a later point: "But of this more hereafter." See Hearne, 167. It is possible that Hearne was making a reference to what eventually became Chapter 10 of *A Journey*, which was reserved for his descriptions of plants and animals.

> At present happy it is for [the Chipewyan], and greatly to the advantage of the Company, that they...live in friendship with their Southern neighbours. The good effect of this harmony is already so visible, that within a few years the trade from that quarter has increased many thousands of Made Beaver annually; some years even to the amount of eleven thousand skins.[56]

According to the Churchill Post journal, the only year the Chipewyan brought in this amount of trade occurred during the 1776-77 season.[57] By placing this fact in the context of Hearne's choice of words "at present," implies that Hearne composed shortly after that season and certainly before the 1778-79 season when the trade at Churchill was a more impressive 14 000 MB.[58] Incidentally, Hearne's initial reference to an average annual trade that rarely exceeded 6 000 MB is not supported by the amounts of trade reported in Churchill's records for the period just prior to Hearne's appointment to chief factor; in fact, it is only during the 1720s that this statement applies.[59] Apparently Hearne was attempting to enhance the impact he had as Churchill's chief factor by minimizing the success of his predecessors. Hearne proceeded to insert a footnote in reference to the 11 000 MB trade. Hearne's words clearly indicate that he composed the note at a later time: "[s]ince this Journal was written, the Northern Indians, by annually visiting their Southern friends, the Athapuscow Indians, have contracted the small-pox." The epidemic erupted during the winter of 1782-83, and Hearne learned of its impact on the Chipewyan (Hearne's Northern Indians) in the fall of 1783. A subsequent comment in the same footnote points to a similar period for the time of genesis. Partway through the additional note Hearne remarked on a very recent occurrence:

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[56] Hearne, 115.

[57] HBCA B.42/a/94 fo 43d, Churchill Post Journal 1776-77. Hearne gives these figures in a letter to the London Committee, dated 24 August 1777: "the Northern Indian trade this Year is upwards of 11000 made Beaver where as formally it ware never estimated at more then 6000 on avorage." See HBCA A.11/15 fo 39, London Inward Correspondence - from Churchill.

[58] HBCA B.42/b/24 fo 7, Churchill Correspondence Book 1778-79, letter from Hearne to Humphrey Marten, York, 16 July 1779. If Hearne had written the comment in *A Journey* after this season it seems likely that he would have included the more impressive trade amount.

[59] I took notes on the amount of furs brought in by the Chipewyan for every season at Churchill until Hearne's retirement. See also K.G. Davies, ed. "Appendix D: The Trade of Hudson Bay 1767-1740," *Letters From Hudson Bay 1703-1740* (London: HBRS,

> While I was writing this Note, I was informed by the Northern Indians, that the few which remain of the Copper tribe have found their way to one of the Canadian houses in the Athapuscow Indians' country...so that the few surviving Northern Indians, as well as the Hudson's Bay Company, have now lost every shadow of any future trade from that quarter, unless the Company will establish a settlement with the Athapuscow country and undersell the Canadians.[60]

Following the smallpox epidemic, visits to Churchill by the Chipewyan who travelled from the distant Athabasca region remained infrequent; thus there were only a limited number of Chipewyan trading gangs to which Hearne could have referred. In fact, there were just three such visits at Churchill before Hearne retired.[61] In May 1784 two Chipewyan men arrived at Churchill in search of iron and were surprised to learn that the HBC had returned. It was through them that Hearne learned of Matonabbee's demise and the impact of the smallpox upon the Chipewyan and Athapuscow Indians (Athabasca Cree).[62]

1965), 349.

[60] Hearne, 116, footnote.

[61] The difference between the more northwestern Chipewyan and those who lived closer to the coast of Hudson Bay is explained in the introduction to this thesis.

[62] HBCA B.42/a/103 fos 24d-25, Churchill Post Journal, 2 May 1784. For the second visit see HBCA B.42/a/106 fo 26d, Churchill Post Journal, 27 April 1786. The third visit occurred on 14 July 1787. See HBCA B.42/a/108 fo 25, Churchill Post Journal. Part of the entry for that day reads: "the Northern Indians...are now beginning to draw out

Since these two men were the first representatives from that region with whom Hearne had met, it is reasonable to assume that these were the people Hearne questioned about the state of the trade in the interior. Thus, Hearne composed the remarks on Chipewyan traders after the 1776-77 season and prior to the conclusion of the 1778-79 trade season, and he then created the accompanying footnote in early May 1784.

Following Hearne's exposition on Chipewyan traders, he inserted a story about how Keelshies, a respected Chipewyan trading captain at Churchill, had mistreated Copper Indian traders:

> It is but a few years since, that Captain Keelshies, who is frequently mentioned in this Journal, took twelve of these people under his charge, all heavily laden with the most valuable furrs; and long before they arrived at the Fort, he and the rest of his crew had got all the furrs from them, in payment for the provisions for their support, and obliged them to carry the furrs on their account.[63]

Upon leaving Churchill, Keelshies engineered a plot to abandon the Copper Indians on an island where he expected them to perish. Hearne later came upon the bones of these people during his return from the mines to Churchill in 1772. Hearne noted that Chief Factor Moses Norton did not learn of Keelshies' actions "for some years afterward, for fear of prejudicing him against Keelshies."[64] Norton must have become aware of the ill-fated Copper Indians before he himself died in November 1773. Because Hearne mentioned Norton's death, he must have added this story about Keelshies into his narrative after 1773. Given that the preponderance of commentary from this section of

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from the Athapuscow Country in order to renew their trade with this Factory." See also Hearne's letter to the London Committee, dated 10 September 1784, in which he wrote: "[t]he famous Northern Indian Leader Matonabbee (my former guide) on hearing that Prince of Wales's Fort was taken, hung himself. Many principal Indians of that Nation are also dead and all the remainder through necessaty are gone to the Pedlers." HBCA A.11/15 fo 105, London Inward Correspondence - from Churchill.

[63] Hearne, 117. Keelshies' role at Churchill and in the search for the mines is addressed in Chapter One.

[64] Hearne, 117-118.

the narrative that I have already dated to the period between the fall of 1777 and the fall of 1779, it is reasonable to assume that he probably added the Keelshies story around this time too.

Another example where footnotes indicate a later revision to the text is located in Hearne's summary of the transactions from the third attempt occurring in November 1771. Here Hearne added a story concerning the recovery of a Chipewyan man named Cos-abyagh, who had suffered a serious stroke.[65] Woven into Hearne's account is a four-page commentary in which Hearne described how another Chipewyan man healed Cos-abyagh through what Hearne believed to be trickery.[66] Hearne noted that "since that time [Cos-abyagh] has frequently visited the Factory." Though it is clear that Hearne composed this commentary some time after his return from the mines, it is not possible to assign a precise date to its genesis. After relating the story of Cos-abyagh, Hearne proceeded to discuss the merits of Chipewyan healers. In a footnote relating to the power of healers to lay curses, Hearne made reference to an experience he had with curses in 1778.[67] Based on the theory that such footnotes represent later revisions to the text, it follows that Hearne worked on the general commentary regarding healers prior to 1778, and probably around the same time as the other commentary thus far discussed. Evidence pointing to when he composed the note is found at the end of the passage where Hearne described William Jefferson as his successor to chief factor at Churchill, an event that occurred in the fall of 1787. In this case, Hearne wrote the footnote after he had retired to London.

While the relationship between footnotes and commentary is helpful in illuminating Hearne's writing process for many sections of Hearne's account of the third attempt, it is less so for perhaps the best known section of Hearne's account: the Chipewyan attack upon the Inuit in July 1772. The only such clue is one that Richard Glover misinterpreted. He believed that Hearne composed the description of the environment around the Coppermine River after 1783 because of a reference Hearne made to David Crantz's *History of Greenland* in a passage about the Inuit. However, this book was first published in 1767; therefore, Hearne could have had access to it anytime thereafter, and certainly before 1783.[68]

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[65] Hearne made no mention of this event in the Stowe and Grenville MSS collections. He noted in the entry for 1 December 1771 only that several of his companions were ill;.see Stowe MS, 30. None of the draft manuscripts covers this part of his journey.

[66] Hearne, 139-143.

[67] Hearne 143, footnote.

The nature of the writing process for this section is revealed through a comparison of the types of information contained in this portion of the narrative and the versions of the draft manuscript in Andrew Graham's volumes of "Observations" that Hearne had composed by late 1773. In those versions of the draft manuscript, the attack scene was followed by a paragraph primarily concerning the look of the land, but it also contained a line about finding a two-pound copper lump, an observation that the stones were covered in verdigris (the green rust on copper items), and a sentence on the types of Inuit material artifacts valued by the Chipewyan. Next there was a paragraph on the Copper Indians, and the last paragraph described the Alarm Bird. In *A Journey*, the majority of these elements are still there, but they have undergone considerable transformation. The narrative of the attack is followed directly by Hearne's account of his visit to the mouth of the Coppermine River. At this point he broke the narrative to insert a revised version of his landscape description, plus additional observations about the river.[69] He next inserted his description of the Inuit, but he expanded the sentence to approximately two pages.[70] It is here that he referred to Crantz's book. Hearne's remarks on the Inuit are followed by a paragraph on local animals, which is then followed by the paragraph on the Alarm Bird.[71]

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[68] I did not find any evidence that this book was at Churchill Post. Hearne could have read it when he was in London during the 1782-83 season or later after he retired. There is no way to know which of these two possibilities is the correct one.

[69] Hearne, 107.

[70] Hearne, 108-110.

[71] Hearne, 111-112.

Hearne then resumed the narrative, describing his visit to one of the mines; however, in this account the two-pound lump of copper more than doubled in weight.[72] The narrative concerning events at the Coppermine River ended with Hearne's observation that this area formerly contained much more copper because the rock surfaces tended to be covered in "verdigrise."[73] Hearne eliminated the paragraph on the Copper Indians altogether.

Though Crantz's book is of no use in dating when Hearne composed the revised remarks, some conclusions are possible, based on the presence of similar descriptions in Graham's "Observations." For example, because Hearne created that draft manuscript by late 1773, he must have composed the revised version appearing in *A Journey* sometime thereafter. Notably, Hearne seems to have created the description of the rocks covered in verdigris around the same time as the section on Chipewyan traders. After the verdigris description, Hearne wrote about how the Copper Indians named lumps of copper after "objects in nature," and this discussion led Hearne to explain why the Chipewyan valued copper. In the next paragraph Hearne described the Copper Indians' exchange-rate for trading with copper. Significantly, this paragraph then flowed into Hearne's statement about the amount of trade the Chipewyan brought in to Churchill, a passage that Hearne composed following the 1776-77 season and before the close of the 1778-79 season, as noted earlier. It is reasonable to assume that Hearne wrote the two pages of commentary around the same time as the section containing the datable comment because there are no narrative breaks to separate the remarks and the transitions between the paragraphs are smooth and logical.

Thus far, it has been established that Hearne created a significant amount of additional material to the main body of the text between the fall of 1777 and the fall of 1779, particularly regarding the section dealing with events along the Coppermine River. While not all of the clues from the main body commentary point to such a precise period of composition, they suggest a similar time of genesis. In every case, however, it is clear that Hearne created the added commentary following his years at Cumberland House. Hearne appears to have created the related footnotes during two periods, one in the mid-1780s and the other after his retirement in 1787. The next few examples illustrate some of these less precise examples.

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[72] Hearne, 112.

[73] Hearne, 113.

In the account pertaining to events occurring near the end of May 1771, Hearne related how Matonabbee had resolved to abandon the expedition in favour of joining the Athapuscow Indians (Athabasca Cree) after a dispute with another Chipewyan man over one of Matonabbee's wives. Eventually Hearne persuaded his guide to continue with the expedition. In the midst of Hearne's description of these events, he recollected the former state of trade with those Cree, "who at that time annually visited the Factory in the way of trade."[74] Richard Glover believed that Hearne was referring to the efforts of Peter Pond in 1778 to expand the Canadian trade into the Athabasca region. However, after Hearne opened Cumberland House in 1775, it would have been much easier for these Cree to travel to that post, or one of the nearby Canadian posts, than to Churchill. Therefore, this reference could apply to a slightly earlier time of the mid-1770s. Because Hearne employed a reflective tone, he probably composed the phrase a while after he first observed the Cree's irregular appearance. It also seems likely that he created the phrase before the smallpox epidemic, because these people were affected by the disease to the same degree as the Chipewyan. Elsewhere Hearne had noted repeatedly the negative impact upon Churchill's trade caused by the loss of the Chipewyan. He does not do so here.

Toward the end of the account of the third attempt, Hearne compared Cree and Chipewyan hunting practices. Before going on his journeys in search of the copper mines he had lived away from the fort in hunting camps, but he had shared company with fellow HBC officers, not local Cree. It was not until the Cumberland House years that Hearne spent time living among the Cree. Therefore his observations post-date 1775. Hearne began the commentary by describing how the Northern Indians hunted moose by chasing them on snowshoes. Because the moose crashed through the deep snow instead of staying on the surface like their snowshoed pursuers, eventually they collapsed from exhaustion allowing the Chipewyan to kill them with a knife. Hearne then remarked that the Cree used dogs to do the chasing.[75] Significantly, Hearne also inserted a footnote that he composed when he considered himself to be much older, and more sedate: "[t]hough I was a swift runner in those days, I never accompanied the Indians in one of those chaces."[76] Because the wording of the footnotes suggests that Hearne composed them later in life, by implication he must have created the commentary in the main body of the text at an earlier time. Thus, Hearne wrote the comparative commentary some time after his years at Cumberland House, and before he reworked the text for the last time.

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[74] Hearne, 72; see also Glover's footnote same page.

During a page-long commentary on the nature of trading captains, Hearne inserted a footnote concerning the behaviour of Matonabbee in 1776.[77] In the note Hearne suggested that he had witnessed similar behaviour by other trading captains many times, implying that he composed the note after he had been chief factor for a number of years. But there is another clue that points to an even later time of composition: Hearne referred to possessing command of Churchill in the past tense. Thus Hearne wrote the note after retiring to London. By implication, it is highly likely that he drafted the connected commentary on trading captains while he still resided at Churchill.

Also within the account of the third attempt, Hearne remarked on the virtues of Chipewyan and Cree women. As part of this commentary he also noted that the Cree looked after widows and orphans. As with Hearne's observations about hunting moose on snowshoes, it is likely he was able to make such remarks after his years at Cumberland House. Glover claimed, and I believe rightly so, that Hearne composed these comments prior to 1783, because in a related footnote Hearne reminisced about Mary Norton and her untimely death during the difficult winter of 1782-83.[78] Mary, who had lived at Churchill, returned to her mother's people after the French had forced the HBC to abandon the post. She did not last the winter, dying from starvation. Glover argued that Hearne would not have described the Cree as generous toward their widows and orphans if the explorer had composed the commentary in the main body of the text after Mary's demise. Also within this same footnote, Hearne referred to Ferdinand Jacobs, a former chief factor of both Churchill and York, as deceased. Jacobs had died in November 1783.[79] Hearne could have learned of Jacobs' death only with the arrival of mail from London in the fall of 1784. Thus, Hearne drafted the main body commentary after his years at Cumberland House and before he learned how Mary Norton had died, but most likely during the mid- to late-1770s as this seems to have been a time of major work on the narrative. He created the footnote any time after 1784.

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[75] Hearne, 182-83.

[76] Hearne, 183, footnote.

[77] Hearne, 187, footnote. See pages 186 and 187 for the associated commentary.

There were also a few cases where the internal evidence suggested that Hearne continued to rewrite some sections of the narrative of the third attempt well into the 1780s. In a three-page commentary that Hearne drafted on the deer, he included phrases such as "they are remarkably scarce some years near Churchill" and "I have frequently seen them killed at or near Christmas".[80] He concluded the commentary with the phrase: "[a] long residence among the Indians has enabled me to confirm this assertion"[81] Hearne's choice of words indicates that he was able to make these observations well into his HBC career. Indeed, his note that the deer could be scarce at times points to the years following Hearne's return to Churchill in 1783, when local Natives as well as HBC employees endured great hardship due to the lack of deer.[82] Thus Hearne created this commentary probably closer to the end of his HBC career.

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[78] Mary Norton was the daughter of former Chief Factor Moses Norton. Her mother was Cree. She lived at Churchill until the French attack during August 1782. She was not permitted to sail to England; thus, she turned to her Cree relatives for support. Hearne described her fate in the footnote on pages 81 and 82.

[79] Shirlee Anne Smith, "Jacobs, Ferdinand," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 383.

[80] Hearne, 127, 129.

[81] Hearne, 130.

Hearne appears to have drafted other extensive commentaries around this time. During a another section in the main body of the text, and of similar length to the one on the deer, Hearne challenged the observations about the beaver presented by Arthur Dobbs. Regarding Dobbs's claim that there were many albino beavers, Hearne wrote that "[i]n the course of twenty years experience in the countries about Hudson's Bay...I never saw but one white beaver-skin..."[83] Since Hearne had worked for the HBC for precisely two decades, Hearne must have composed this section after his retirement in the fall of 1787.

Elsewhere, he created a long commentary on how the Chipewyan used deer pounds as an effective hunting method. Intertwined into this description, Hearne discussed how the fur trade between Europeans and Natives had altered the latter's way of life, often for the worse. With regard to these four pages of commentary, Richard Glover asserted that "[t]here seems to be no internal evidence by which the date of its composition can be guessed."[84] He is mistaken. The argument concerning the negative impact of the fur trade upon Natives seems in line with Hearne's frame of mind following his return to Rupert's Land in 1783. At one point in this discussion Hearne stated that "those who have the least intercourse with the Factories, are by far the happiest."[85] In an unrelated footnote, found much later in the text, Hearne had suggested that the Chipewyan would have been better off if they had remained outside of the fur trade.[86] This footnote is the same one from which I was able to date the time of composition to May of 1784.

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[82] These hardships, including the lack of deer, are addressed in Chapter 6.

[83] Hearne, 155.

[84] Glover, editor's footnote, *A Journey* (1958), 53.

[85] Hearne, 52.

[86] Here Hearne blames the peace between the Cree and Chipewyan, a state of affairs promoted by the HBC, for the spread of the smallpox epidemic to Matonabbee's people. See p. 115, footnote.

There is more evidence that Hearne drafted the deer pound passage during the 1780s. Within the context of explaining the Chipewyan's involvement in the fur trade Hearne remarked:

> It is undoubtedly the duty of every one of the Company's servants to encourage a spirit of industry among the natives, and to use every means in their power to induce them to procure furrs and other commodities for trade, by assuring them of a ready purchase and good payment for every thing they bring to the Factory: I can truly say, that this has ever been the grand object of my attention.[87]

Again, the tone of this passage implies that Hearne composed it near the end of his HBC career, particularly with the words "this has ever been the grand object of my attention." Indeed, as disclosed in Chapter 6, by the 1780s Hearne was engaged in a war of words with his HBC superiors who had alleged that Hearne employed a lackadaisical approach to increasing the company's trade. Since this case appears in the main body of the text near the beginning of the narrative of the third attempt, Hearne must have still been revising the main body of the text during the 1780s.

These examples provide a good sense of the types of additions Hearne made to the narrative describing the third attempt and when he inserted them. Though much of the reasoning is by implication, the validity of these conclusions is strengthened by the results from the bibliographical and biographical approaches. The bibliographic evidence, discussed in Chapter Five, proved that Hearne had begun to revise his journals into a narrative by early 1774, and this evidence indicated that Hearne focused upon events that transpired at the Coppermine River. The biographical study I performed in Chapter Six suggested that Hearne had the opportunity to work on the Coppermine River account before the end of 1773. It was not possible to identify any sections of the text that dated from this period using internal evidence. The biographical evidence indicated that next most likely opportunity Hearne had to work on the narrative occurred following his appointment to chief factor of Churchill. This period lasted until the attack by the French upon the fort in August 1782. During this period Hearne had demonstrated a keen interest in his surroundings. He seemed to be generally enthusiastic and optimistic. He had unlimited access to the surplus writing supplies stored in the warehouse. He also requested a writing table from the carpenter in December 1777. Internal evidence points to a slightly narrower period in which Hearne composed some parts of the narrative, emphasizing the years between the falls of 1777 and 1779. It was at this time that Hearne inserted many of his comments about hunting methods, the differences between the Chipewyan and Cree, and additional anecdotes from the journey, a number of which reflect his experiences at Cumberland House as well as from his journey to the mines. In the biographical study I highlighted a few years toward the end of Hearne's HBC career as the next most favourable writing opportunity. By the end of 1784, most of Churchill had been rebuilt, although Hearne mentioned ongoing hardships, particularly concerning food and supplies into the 1785-86 season. Hearne had his own quarters again, including the writing table that the carpenter had built upon Hearne's request in December 1783. He had plenty of time to work on his personal project since the trade had all but disappeared. He also had a motive to present his work and experiences to the public, since he believed that the London Committee had embraced a negative and entirely incorrect view of him personally and his governing efforts at Churchill. There is also considerable internal evidence pointing to a number of revisions that Hearne made to the main body of the narrative beginning in 1784 and continuing through 1787. It was during this time that he also began to insert reflective notes to other sections with which he was otherwise satisfied. Hearne seems to have done most of the composition of the narrative, including the commentary, before he retired. Once in London, according to the biographical study, Hearne had considerable amounts of time to work on the narrative. The internal evidence indicates that Hearne continued to add material to the text of the third attempt during his retirement, but all of these changes appear as footnotes. I had theorized earlier in this chapter that the footnotes represented changes Hearne wanted to make to the main body of the text after he was generally satisfied with its layout. However, the contents from some of the footnotes indicate that Hearne had created them at an earlier date than some of the main body commentary from other sections of the account.

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[87] Hearne, 52.

Clearly Hearne's writing process was not as straightforward as I had presumed. I believe that it is still true that the footnotes generally represent later reflections upon the text, but that this compositional relationship holds on a section by section basis, rather than to the text as a whole. In other words, Hearne was finished with some sections before others, thus explaining how there could be internal evidence in some sections of the main body of the text that post-dates footnotes from other sections of the text. Thus, while my footnote theory is a useful guide to the structuring of *A Journey*, it does not apply universally to Hearne's method of composition.

There are two remaining components to *A Journey*: the chapter containing Hearne's observations about the Chipewyan, and another on animals and plants. Internal evidence from these chapters once again provides clues as to when Hearne composed these chapters. The chapter on the Chipewyan consists of approximately 30 pages of text. Aside from the general descriptions of Chipewyan beliefs, gender differences, cooking methods, and material culture, Hearne also wrote a biography of Matonabbee. Except for the biography of Matonabbee, there are no obvious breaks in the descriptive passages to indicate that Hearne composed different sections at different times. Therefore, for the most part, I am unable to say whether an internal clue applies to the paragraph in which it appears or to the chapter as a whole.

As with the narrative of the third account, Hearne has inserted reflective footnotes. For example, when Hearne initially described Chipewyan eating preferences, he stated that they were "remarkably fond of the womb of the buffalo, elk, deer...This, in some of the larger animals, and especially when they are some time gone with young, needs no description to make it sufficiently disgusting." He then went on to describe what the Chipewyan ate during the summer on the sub-Arctic tundra. However, in between his comment on the womb and summer eating preferences, Hearne proceeded to insert a footnote, in which he described how to prepare the womb for eating: "[t]he Indian method of preparing this unaccountable dish is by throwing the filthy bag across a pole directly over the fire...and when any of it is to be cooked, a large flake, like as much tripe, is cut off and boiled for a few minutes; but the many large nodes with which the inside of the womb is studded, make it abominable."[88] There is reason to believe that he composed this note at a later date because otherwise he would have inserted this description into the main body of the text. Obviously, when Hearne revisited the text at some later date he changed his mind, deciding to provide his readers with what he perceived to be the gruesome details.

Hearne could have begun to compile the information for this chapter only after his years at Cumberland House, for in this component of *A Journey* he is able to compare the lifestyles of the Cree and Chipewyan. Indeed, it is possible that he conceived the idea of this collection of observations after his contact with Andrew Graham in 1773 and 1774. Internal evidence suggests that he finished creating the main body of the text much later, some time after the mid-1780s. One such clue is that he wrote about Matonabbee in the past tense.[89] Since Hearne did not learn of Matonabbee's death, which had occurred during the winter of 1782-83, until May 1784, he must have been composing this chapter thereafter.[90] Hearne also complained about how the Chipewyan successfully avoided paying their debts at Churchill by trading with the sloop. This same problem Hearne presented for the first time to the London Committee in a letter dated 1 September 1785 and again in another letter dated 17 August 1786.[91] The biography of Matonabbee contains internal clues that also point to the mid-1780s as the earliest possible moment of composition. Not only did Hearne write about his former guide in the past tense, he followed Matonabbee's life to its end. Hearne also noted that Keelshies had personally witnessed the destruction of Churchill in 1782, although Hearne would not have learned of

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[88] Hearne, 205 for main body text and footnote.

[89] Hearne, 220.

[90] See HBCA B.42/a/103 fos. 24d-25, Churchill Post Journal, 2 May 1784.

[91] HBCA A.11/15 fo 118d, London Inward Correspondence - from Churchill, letter from Samuel Hearne to the London Committee, 1 September 1785; A.11/15 fo 126, 17 August 1786.

Keelshies' observations until after 1783.[92] Thus, according to the internal evidence, Hearne worked on this chapter during the mid-1780s. There is no evidence that he continued to revise its contents after his retirement, though this remains a possibility.

The last chapter in *A Journey to a Northern Ocean* contains Hearne's observations about plants and wildlife, and is approximately sixty-three pages in length. It is difficult to pinpoint when Hearne first began compiling the information for this chapter.[93] Hearne mentions his efforts to collect and study animal specimens that cover his entire career. Of particular note, though unrecorded in the London Committee's or Moses Norton's instructions for the third attempt or in any letters, Hearne gathered animal specimens during the third journey for the Royal Society's collection of species.[94] Hearne's specimens would have been included as part of Norton's submission. Hearne noted in his description of a goose he called the Horned Wavey, that the reason Pennant overlooked this bird for inclusion in *Arctic Zoology* was that Norton forgot to include Hearne's specimen in the collection sent to London.[95] Hearne definitely acquired the specimen during the third attempt because he also noted in *A Journey* that the Horned Wavey's normal range was 200 to 300 miles north of Churchill. The nature of some of Hearne's Arctic animal observations suggests that he took notes while on his journey, rather than merely recollecting what he had seen many years earlier. For example, he was able to state that he had seen Brown Cranes as far north as 65° Latitude, a place he reached only during his searches for the mines. He claimed to have seen Red Godwaits at latitude 71° 50', Spotted Godwaits as 71° 54' and Black Head Gulls "as far north as has hitherto been visited."[96] It seems unlikely that he could have made these observations without some sort of reference at hand. There are no such notes on these animals or for those astronomical observations in the Stowe or Grenville MSS, the surviving versions of Hearne's journal (or report). Therefore, it seems he kept a separate set of notes for these types of observations.

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[92] Hearne, 225.

[93] His efforts to understand the world around him went beyond official company orders, thus hinting that Hearne had a personal interest in natural history. In this chapter he described some of the experiments he had performed on frozen spiders and frogs and the dissections on whistling swans. He revealed his attempts to tame a wide variety of birds and beasts; he enjoyed particular success with jackashes (mink), mice, ground squirrels, eagles and hawks, snow buntings, Lapland finches (Lapland Longspur), and beavers. For Hearne's taming efforts, see pages 242, 248, 256, 257, 269-70, 270. Hearne recounts the taming of beaver in the account of the third attempt, page 157. The reference to the microscope is on page 249, the experiments on frogs and spiders is on page 255, and dissecting swans, 281, footnote.

[94] This was the collection upon which Thomas Pennant based his observations about animals living around Hudson Bay for his book *Arctic Zoology*. Andrew Graham and Thomas Hutchins created the majority of the Royal Society's collection, but others, such as Humphrey Marten and Moses Norton, also made some contributions. On page 287, Hearne referred to this collection again. He revealed Marten's involvement in a related footnote.

[95] Hearne, 284-85.

Indeed, the plausibility that he created other kinds of records while he travelled is supported by two other pieces of evidence. As noted in the discussion pertaining to the connection between Thomas Pennant and Samuel Hearne, there were observations of latitude in Pennant's *Arctic Zoology* that were not in either the Stowe or Grenville manuscripts. The answer lies in a clue supplied by Hearne in his introduction to *A Journey*. There, he stated that in preparation for his journeys he made charts that contained all the degrees of latitude and longitude on many separate pieces of paper so that he could plot his daily course and fill in his regular astronomical observations onto these miniature maps.[97] It was later that he transformed the information from these charts into one map representing his route to and from the mines. Hearne also had brought along extra paper to make sketches. As revealed in Chapter Six, by the time Hearne became chief factor of Churchill, he had acquired a reputation as an artist. He had made a drawing of Churchill in 1777 and had taught basic drawing skills to an apprentice from York. Included in *A Journey* is a sketch of Athapuscow Lake which Hearne created in the winter of 1771. Apparently Hearne had enough paper so that he could begin to describe the animals and plants he encountered in the Arctic, including the latitudes in which they could be found. When Hearne eventually decided to create a chapter of the observations for his book, it was these descriptions to which he turned. The question remains as to when he first organized the descriptions into a chapter.

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[96] Hearne, 272, 274, 278.

[97] Hearne, "Introduction," lxxii.

Although there are quite a few internal clues peppered throughout this chapter, it is difficult to isolate the moments when he drafted particular sections. He made reference to events that took place throughout his career. He remembered seeing walruses at Whale Cove in 1767, and the Horned Wavey during his third attempt to reach the mines.[98] He recollected that he had tamed a hawk at Cumberland House. At that place he also witnessed the unpredictable behaviour of the Sharp-tailed Grouse.[99] He spoke of the rapid increase in the rabbit population between the time he left Churchill in 1782 and returned in 1783.[100] He observed that juniper-berries could be found more easily "near the new settlement at Churchill River" than at the old stone fort.[101] In his explanation of how to trap partridges using nets and gravel, Hearne stated that in 1786, Mr. Prince, then master of one of the sloops, had netted 204 birds in two attempts.[102]

Other internal clues indicate that Hearne worked on the chapter while he was in London. Indeed, Hearne stated in his opening statement for this chapter that "[b]efore I conclude this work, it may not be improper to give a short account of the principal Animals that frequent the high Northern latitudes..." These words indicate that Hearne drafted the final form of this chapter after he had finished with most of the other components of *A Journey*, with the exception of the preface and possibly the introduction.

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[98] Hearne, 249, 284.

[99] Hearne, 257, 263.

[100] Hearne, 246.

[101] Hearne, 290.

[102] Hearne, 266.

The other references to a post-retirement composition are scattered throughout the chapter, which indicates that Hearne continued to work on the entire chapter during this period. For example, during his description of the fox, Hearne wrote that "I can affirm there is not one year in twenty that they are not caught in greater or less numbers at Churchill."[103] He remembered that during his twenty-year career with the HBC he had witnessed only three black whales captured in the Churchill River.[104] He made a general observation concerning the ability to live off the land around Churchill: "[i]n fact, after twenty-years residence in this country, I am persuaded that whoever relies much on the produce of the different seasons, will frequently be deceived, and occasionally expose himself and men to great want."[105] When Hearne claimed that he had reviewed all the journals on Churchill and some on York for references to the bustard, he must have done so at the HBC's headquarters in London.[106] The latest internal clue I could find occurred during a discussion of Dunter geese, where Hearne referred to the "late Mr. Hutchins," who had died in July 1790.[107]

Unlike the narrative of the third attempt, the footnotes are not helpful in dating the composition of the text. They are reflective in nature, but the entire chapter is reflective.

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[103] Hearne, 232.

[104] Hearne, 252.

[105] Hearne, 254.

[106] Hearne, 268, footnote.

[107] Hearne, 287. Samuel Hearne also referred to the late Ferdinand Jacobs; see Hearne, 287, footnote. I did not include this reference in my discussion because the precise time of his death is uncertain. According to Fritz Pannekoek, Marten retired from the HBC in 1786, after which there is no further information about him. Pannekoek theorized that Marten was still alive by the time Umfreville published *The Present State of Hudson's Bay* in 1790. The assumption is based upon the theory that because Umfreville had described Marten in such highly unflattering terms, he avoided naming the man to avoid a lawsuit. Pannekoek hypothesized that Marten had died before Hearne submitted his manuscript for publication because Hearne referred to Marten as "late." I would have employed circular reasoning if I then proceeded to say that Hearne's reference to Marten indicates that Hearne was still working on this chapter between 1790 and 92.

The footnotes include references to events from a wide span of time similar in range to the main body of the text. Here, the footnotes sometimes include information on events that occurred earlier than those mentioned in nearby sections of the main body of the text. For example, he began the sub-section on fish and whales by listing the names of the species. In a footnote to the list he recollected how a large rock cod had washed ashore near Churchill in the fall of 1768.[108] Immediately following this list he began with his observations about black whales, in which he made the reference to having twenty-years experience. There are no examples of a footnote containing a reference to an event that occurred after an event that Hearne mentioned in the main body of the text.

Thus, while it is certain that Samuel Hearne continued into the 1790s preparing the descriptions contained in this chapter, it is not clear whether he created the chapter during the 1790s or whether he subjected the chapter to a number of drafts. The presence of footnotes suggests he made revisions to the template for this chapter. The validity of this compositional process is supported by just one clue. In the section on grasses, Hearne first claimed that during his tenure as chief factor not one man had died from scurvy. Then, in the next paragraph, he contradicted himself by stating that "during ten years I had the command at Churchill River, only two men died of that distemper."[109] Glover believed that the contradiction represented careless revisionary efforts by Hearne. While Hearne drew on the full range of his experiences for the creation of this chapter, there are no internal clues that indicate when he first drafted the chapter. However, the number and quality of details Hearne provided in the descriptions, including references to latitude, are indicative that he had made notes on these animals and plants during his career, and perhaps kept some sort of journal full of these descriptions. The exact process by which Hearne transformed the notes into the finalized version of the chapter remains difficult to discern.

Internal analysis has proven to be particularly instructive in illuminating Hearne's role in the production of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*. Without doubt, Hearne worked on this project over a long period of time, about twenty years. At the core of the book is the Coppermine River narrative, a story Hearne had begun to shape from his journals by the end of 1773. As previously illustrated in Chapter Five, Hearne first focused on the events transpiring along the banks of the Coppermine River. Internal evidence indicates that he had already begun to collect information on animals by this time, the descriptions of which he would eventually use for Chapter Ten of *A Journey*. This type of evidence also suggests that after Hearne became chief factor at Churchill, he reworked and expanded the narrative by adding anecdotes and observations from his years at Cumberland House. The period between the fall of 1777 and 1779 was an intensive period of revision. By the time the French attacked Churchill in August 1782, Hearne had transformed his journal of the third attempt into a summary narrative, replete with reflective commentary. Thus, La Pérouse did not stimulate Hearne to rework his journals; the impetus came from within Hearne himself. Shortly after the reconstruction of Churchill, Hearne resumed his writing project. During his remaining three seasons Hearne finished the main body of the text describing the third attempt, including the commentary. Once satisfied with a section, he placed any additional comments on separate pieces of paper or perhaps in the margins; these later reflections appear as footnotes. Back in London, he may have added a few more comments that again appear as footnotes; however, there is no indication that he made further revisions to the main body of the text.

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[108] Hearne, 252.

[109] Hearne, 294.

Hearne's account of his first two attempts is notable for the lack of reflective footnotes and the fact that the subject matter is explained in the third account. These structural characteristics indicate that Hearne drafted the narratives for these attempts upon completion of the third account. Thus, he could have created these narratives either toward the end of his career or once he was in London. It is similarly challenging to identify precisely when Hearne began to compose Chapter Nine on the Chipewyan and Chapter Ten on flora and fauna. Internal evidence reveals that Chapter Nine contains opinions Hearne developed after his years at Cumberland House; however, the manner in which Hearne referred to certain events and people, such as Matonabbee, indicates that he was composing the chapter during the mid-1780s. Whether this was a first draft or a revision is not known. There was no internal evidence to suggest that Hearne continued to work on this chapter after he left Rupert's Land in the fall of 1787. As for Chapter Ten, my interpretation of the internal evidence indicates that Hearne collected the information throughout his HBC career. Because there were internal clues relating to events up to the moment Hearne retired, he probably drafted the chapter in London. It is important to remember that he had most likely written the observations long before that time, as suggested by his ability to provide incredible detail about the appearance and behaviour of these animals, including the northernmost latitude of their range. He continued to revise the chapter into the 1790s. That this component of *A Journey* was one of the last he worked on is suggested by Hearne's own introduction to the chapter.

At this point, Hearne now turned to composing an introduction to the work. Proof that he began to do so in London is provided by material that he copied from the HBC's records, items that were housed only in that city. Hearne also mentioned a number of events that occurred in the 1790s, such as the publication of Umfreville's book, the voyage of Captain Charles Duncan to Hudson Bay, and the passing of former HBC employee and fellow natural historian, Thomas Hutchins. There is some evidence that he drafted the introduction in stages. Exactly when he finished it is not clear. The last component of *A Journey* Hearne devised was the preface. Internal evidence indicates only that he worked on it during the 1790s. However, the fact that he was able to reflect upon his own editorial efforts in the creation of *A Journey* certainly suggests that he drafted the preface only after he had finished with the rest of the work.

The manuscript Hearne submitted to the publishing and bookselling team of Andrew Strahan and Thomas Cadell in October 1792 was remarkably different in content from the rough journals Hearne had made so many years before. The results from the internal analysis clearly illustrates that Hearne himself was responsible for the transformation. Clearly Hearne, as author of *A Journey*, affected the presentation of material within the text. Hearne's presence is felt not only as narrator, but also as the primary creator.

CONCLUSION

A Journey to the Northern Ocean continues to appeal to general readers and scholars alike. It is among the best known examples of early Canadian literature, and it is an important source of information for anthropological and historical research about the pre-nineteenth-century Dene, particularly the Chipewyan. Yet, to this day, there are key aspects about the origins of the information in this book that have remained veiled in uncertainty. Previous attempts to ascertain the validity of Hearne's observations have always led to the central issue associated with *A Journey*: Samuel Hearne's role in its genesis. Some have proposed that a ghost writer transformed the three Coppermine River journals into the text of *A Journey*. If this was the case, then little about the descriptions of the Chipewyan derived from Hearne's own eyes. In turn, many of the scholarly assumptions about historic Chipewyan culture could be undermined because of the direct connection to *A Journey*. Others have theorized that Hearne created this composition and that an editor, or the publisher, merely polished the text. If so, then Hearne's observations could remain a valuable resource, with the understanding that the accuracy of the descriptions is limited by Hearne's place as an outsider to the culture, and perhaps by his desire to embellish the account in order to heighten the book's appeal. In this dissertation I have examined the nature of Hearne's contribution to the creation of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*.

The variation in theories concerning Hearne's role has derived in part from assumptions about Hearne's poor writing style and his lack of an extensive formal education. Scholars have, unfortunately and inaccurately, labeled him as semi-literate, thereby concluding that he had help in composing and preparing the text of *A Journey*. By examining the complete set of letters and journals in Hearne's handwriting I was able to make a number of significant observations about Hearne's stylistic preferences that permitted me to draw some conclusions about his writing abilities.

First, the writing style Hearne demonstrated in his journals consistently differed from that in his letters. Journal entries tended to display a list-like prose, with short phrases, frequent abbreviations, and minimal punctuation. Events described therein are recorded in a verb tense to reflect the present or near-past. It was in letters that Hearne expounded on the significance of events. Analysis of the London Committee's treatment of these two sets of documents during the eighteenth century indicated that they relied upon the letters to inform them about the performance of a post. Thus, Hearne devoted his attempts to impressing his employers in his letters. Though many scholars have relied upon Hearne's journals to assess the explorer's literary abilities, these documents do not accurately represent his full capabilities.

Second, a grammatical study of the materials in Hearne's hand revealed that, in many aspects, Hearne's writing preferences changed over time. Thus, the scholarly tendency to select journals and the odd letter from the time around which Hearne made the three journeys produces the impression of a static, rather than evolving, literary style. Overall, his spelling moved closer to the orthography prescribed in contemporary spellers and dictionaries. Furthermore, a number of words that he seemed to have spelled differently from accepted practices actually adhered to eighteenth-century standards; for example, both "complete" and "compleat" (Hearne's preference) were permitted. Problems with subject-verb agreement appeared less frequently by the end of Hearne's HBC career. Some of his characteristic preferences disappeared altogether, such as his use of "ware" for "were" and "was," and "ben" for "been." These types of changes suggest that Hearne possessed the ability to improve and edit his work. Other idiosyncracies remained, particularly his manner of identifying possession, as well as his preferred spelling of certain words. By no means could Hearne be considered a literary master, but he was a better writer than typically credited and he was capable of producing the text of *A Journey*. My next task was to establish whether he did so.

The heart of the challenge in understanding Hearne's writing process stems from the fact that the obvious pieces of evidence related to the composition of *A Journey* have disappeared from the public record, including all three Coppermine River journals, the reports he sent to HBC headquarters, the narrative drafts, and the manuscript he submitted for publication. Using a combination of new evidence and multiple approaches I was able to reconstruct where and when Hearne composed the different components of his book.

Along this documentary journey I made additional discoveries related to Hearne's revelatory trek to the northern copper mines.

I began this study with an examination of the *raison d'être* for the creation and existence of *A Journey*: the HBC's century-long search for the northern copper mines and Samuel Hearne's three attempts to reach them. By the time Hearne departed on his inland expedition, the mines had achieved mythical status. Despite decades of discussion with the Chipewyan, some of whom claimed to have visited these mines, HBC personnel could not make sense of the Chipewyan directions. The company's repeated attempts to locate the river that ran alongside the mines had failed. A close examination of HBC records suggested that the Chipewyan had been consistently giving them accurate descriptions of the route to the mines and the appearance of the location. However, HBC employees' limited knowledge of Arctic geography led them to make a series of incorrect assumptions. Part of their confusion derived from their problematic translation of Chipewyan maps. Employees assumed that these maps relayed information according to the four cardinal directions and linear distance between points; instead, the Chipewyan maps portrayed direction in relation to major landmarks and temporal distance between points. HBC traders' confusion was compounded by their ignorance of the fact that the Chipewyan homeland was divided into roughly two broad territories, defined by the range of distinct caribou herds. One herd lived north of Churchill, but fairly close to the Hudson Bay coast, whereas the other two herds ranged far to the northwest around Lake Athabasca. Though the mines were situated to the north of this lake, HBC employees tried to apply the information gleaned from the Chipewyan who resided there to the lay of the land in the eastern territory. Thus, when the northwestern Chipewyan reported that the mines lay near a large body of water (the Arctic Ocean), and that there were Inuit nearby, the European traders assumed that the body of water was Hudson Bay. They became confused when the Inuit who lived along this more familiar coast professed ignorance concerning the mines. Picking up on the HBC's intensive interest in the mines, savvy Chipewyan traders from the bayside territory learned to claim knowledge about the mines, as it enhanced their status with Churchill's chief factor. This combination of factors blinded the prospective prospectors. Documentary evidence indicates that Hearne's first two guides, Chawchinahaw and Conne-e-quese, belonged to the eastern group of Chipewyan. Contrary to prevailing historical interpretation, these attempts primarily failed because Norton had selected guides from the wrong region.

One of the better known sections in *A Journey* describes the Chipewyan attack upon the Inuit in July 1771, alongside the Coppermine River. From the moment Hearne began to share his account with others, this story more than any other has captivated their interest. It is this story that Andrew Graham selected for inclusion in his "Observations of Hudson's Bay," and Edward Umfreville included in his *The Present State of Hudson's Bay*. In *A Journey*, probably because the mines themselves proved to be utterly disappointing, the attack scene has become the climax of the narrative. This scene has stimulated a considerable amount of poetry and prose. Central to the emotive thread of the scene is Hearne's disgust with the innate savagery and his exasperation with the apparent irrationality of the attack. Indeed, the ultimate horror derives from the Chipewyan's complete lack of motive for the assault. However, documentary evidence from the HBCA indicates that the Chipewyan proceeded with the attack with good reason; they believed that the Inuit had killed many of the northwestern Chipewyan using a curse that appeared in the guise of a strange illness in 1769. When the large camps of Chipewyan at Lake Clowey learned that Matonabbee was taking Hearne to the copper mines, which lay nearby a traditional camping ground for the Inuit, many of the Chipewyan decided that an opportunity had now arisen to enact revenge upon those who had laid the curse. Hearne may not have been privy to this information; clearly Matonabbee did not provide the explorer with an explanation for his people's determination and behaviour. When Hearne returned to Churchill in June 1772, rough and weather-beaten notebooks in hand, he began the process of communicating the occurrences he witnessed during the entire journey, including the attack scene. It was my goal to illuminate his efforts in this regard.

I decided to employ three different types of analysis (bibliographical, biographical and internal) aimed at revealing Hearne's compositional efforts because the nature of the surviving documentary evidence limited the effectiveness of any one approach. Significantly, when the results from all three approaches are combined, one is struck by the congruency of this information. Without more information from Hearne himself about the editorial process, and unless the original documents are recovered, this resulting portrayal is the most complete explanation of the genesis of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*. This chronological evolution of Hearne's book is provided below.

During the summer of 1772, Samuel Hearne used his field journal to make a report to his superiors. In content and style the report matched Hearne's original notebook. The primary difference between the report and the account was in the improved neatness and legibility of Hearne's handwriting, as well as the cleanliness of the paper. He also created a map of his route using the charts he had made while on the trip. Hearne sent the report and map to London with the fall ship. The London Committee stored Hearne's report and map in the ever-increasing company archives. Eventually, under Samuel Wegg's governance, the HBC lent the report and map to a number of people and institutions, including the British Admiralty in 1774 in preparation for Captain James Cook's voyage in search of the Northwest Passage. Hearne's report also became the basis for the Stowe and Grenville Manuscripts. Hearne kept with him in Rupert's Land his rough notebook, the charts, as well as some sketches of landscape and descriptions of animals (and possibly plants) that he had made during the trip.

By the end of 1773, Hearne had composed a narrative of the third attempt that focused upon the Chipewyan attack scene, as well as some observations about the Copper Indians, and the Alarm Bird, and the landscape near the mouth of the Coppermine River. This early version of the narrative has survived in Umfreville's *Present State of Hudson's Bay* and three volumes of Graham's "Observations." The Hearne excerpt in the E.2/9 volume of "Observations" was transcribed by an unknown person. The other two excerpts are in Graham's handwriting, with the exception of the Alarm Bird section in E.2/13, that, once again in this same unidentified hand. Evidence concerning Graham's whereabouts in Rupert's Land and internal evidence from the E.2/13 volume indicate that he most likely transcribed the narrative in early 1774. The version in E.2/12 is strikingly different from the other two volumes. It has a preface composed by Graham that contains information about the third attempt that was not in the Hearne narrative. As well, Graham reworked the narrative considerably by changing Hearne's wording in numerous places. This version cannot be considered a transcription of Hearne's narrative; rather it is a derivative account. Graham created this version most likely during his tenure at Churchill in 1774-75 or shortly after his retirement the next year, because in the preface he referred to Hearne as young. Incidently, this was the version included in Glyndwr Williams's compilation volume of Graham's "Observations." Scholars looking to study Hearne's role in the development of *A Journey* should rely instead on the E.2/9 or E.2/13 archival copies. Umfreville, then the writer at Severn, appears to have acquired a copy of this account during Hearne's visit to that post. Umfreville's version most closely matches the E.2/13 volume, although he (or an editor) made substantial revisions to the account. Umfreville kept the account with his personal effects after he retired from the HBC in 1783. He eventually published it in his own book, which consisted of material largely based on Graham's own as yet unpublished "Observations," in 1790.

There is no evidence, biographical, bibliographical, internal or otherwise, that Hearne worked on the narrative during his time away from Churchill between 1774 and 1776. At this time he was involved primarily in setting up the HBC's first post in the western interior, Cumberland House. However, commencing upon Hearne's return in January 1776 to Churchill, a variety of indicators appear to suggest that Hearne had resumed developing and expanding the Coppermine River narrative.

It was during his tenure as Churchill's chief factor (January 1776 to August 1787) that Hearne composed most of the text belonging to *A Journey*. He had private quarters, unlimited access to Churchill's surplus of paper stores, and control over how he spent his time. He even had the carpenter construct a writing desk for him shortly after taking on the new managerial role. These factors combined to produce the most favourable writing environment Hearne had experienced thus far. Indeed, shortly after Hearne became chief factor, internal evidence from *A Journey* indicates that he composed many sections of commentary in the main body of the text between 1777 and 1779, most of which he entered in reference to events at the Coppermine River. This time period was also when Hearne created the sketch of Churchill found in *A Journey*, and when Hearne entered the comments reflecting his wonder at the natural world into the post journal. Up until the early 1780s, documentary evidence from Hearne's letters, as well as the commentary that I was able to date, reflects an enthusiasm and curiosity about the circumstances and surroundings in which Hearne found himself.

In August 1782, after La Pérouse had captured Churchill, he claimed to have read Hearne's journal, and having judged it sufficiently interesting but of no military worth, he returned to Hearne upon the condition that it be published. While I chose not to examine the validity of these details from this encounter, it is certain that Hearne had already begun to revise his original notebooks into a narrative long before La Pérouse saw the journal. Furthermore, it is not clear what it was that La Pérouse saw; he could have looked through Hearne's notebook or he could have found a narrative draft of the third attempt. By this time Hearne was well aware of Graham's collection of "Observations" and may have envisioned presenting selected members of the London Committee with a similar gift of his narrative. He may also have thought about publishing his work. Documentary evidence did not reveal the precise moment when Hearne decided to publish. However, the nature of the commentary that he composed during the 1770s indicates that he was writing for an audience unfamiliar with the world of the fur trade, thereby strongly suggesting that Hearne had considered publishing his work.

Back in London on a forced leave during the 1782-1783 season, Hearne met with Bishop John Douglas and zoologist Thomas Pennant. Douglas was preparing Captain James Cook's journals for the press. We know that Hearne shared his narrative of the third account with him, for selected excerpts from it appear in Douglas' introduction to Cook's *Voyages* (1784). Douglas chose to include Hearne's account of the lone Dogrib woman rather than the attack scene. A bibliographic analysis of the account indicated that, like Umfreville, Douglas had heavily edited the account. Thus, once again, the material in *Voyages* is not an accurate reflection of Hearne's own composition; however, its existence proves that Hearne had expanded the narrative to events ranging outside of those that occurred near the Coppermine River. Pennant, whom Hearne described as a friend, was preparing a collection of descriptions of animals from Arctic regions around the globe. Though Pennant did not provide any excerpts from Hearne's narrative or journals, he did include a summary of Hearne's trip that contained astronomical observations Hearne had not given in either his journal or narrative. Pennant used Hearne's map to help chart the global Arctic regions. Pennant also used Hearne's descriptions of animals to expand the zoologist's own work. His use of Hearne in this way indicates that the explorer had continued to maintain a notebook of observations about animals after returning from the far north.

When Hearne returned to Churchill in the fall of 1783, he directed all of his efforts to rebuilding the post and ensuring the welfare of his men. Upon learning of the disastrous winter experienced by the Cree and Chipewyan alike, he also tried to help the surviving Natives. During this season and the next, the London Committee sent out labourers not clerks, so Hearne took on the role of writer, aided by the post's surgeon John Toogood Hodges. By the winter of 1783, Hearne had private quarters again and had made another request to the carpenter for a writing table. Clear motivation for Hearne to publish the work emerged during this decade. His good relationship with the London Committee had declined steadily into one of mistrust and disrespect. Hearne believed that his superiors had maligned him unfairly. Sharing the narrative and his observations on the Chipewyan, plus his descriptions of plants and animals, provided Hearne with the means by which to correct this unjust evaluation in the public sphere. Internal evidence indicates that he still worked on expanding the narrative of the third attempt after 1783 and continued to make revisions until his retirement in the fall of 1787. Though some evidence points to additions to the main body of the text, most of the additions took the form of footnotes. By the time Hearne retired, the third account closely resembled the corresponding sections in *A Journey*; he had, with the exception of minor polishing, finished his work on this component.

During the 1780s Hearne also commenced work on other parts of *A Journey*. Internal evidence indicates that he composed the chapter about the Chipewyan in this time period. I had also hypothesized that once Hearne had completed the narrative outline of the third account, but not necessarily all of the reflective commentary and footnotes, he constructed the narrative summaries for the first two accounts. Hearne certainly had his own copy of the second journal, and may have kept his notes from the first attempt too, since he had judged the material to be of no interest to the London Committee. Internal evidence suggested that Hearne devised the accounts of the first two attempts after he had written the third account because it is in the third account that he provides the explanations for natural phenomena like the Aurora Borealis, even though readers would have first encountered these things in the earlier attempts. He also continued to collect information about plants and animals for use in what eventually became a separate chapter. In this chapter, the 10th in *A Journey*, he described the many experiments he had conducted on animals, as well as his attempts to tame a great variety of them. The detailed descriptions in this chapter suggest that he had kept notes throughout his career.

Hearne persisted with his compositional work after his arrival in London. At this time he worked on Chapter Ten organizing two decade's worth of observations on flora and fauna, and adding in comments on then circulating and mistaken beliefs. He made numerous references to Pennant's two volumes of *Arctic Zoology* (1784 and 1785), that Hearne most likely had acquired after retirement. He also stated in the introduction to the chapter that he intended it to be the last component of his work, indicating that he began the formal composition of this chapter after he had finished work on all three narratives and the Chipewyan chapter. Once Hearne had created all of these components, he turned to creating an introduction to the work. Internal evidence pointed to a composition time after the summer of 1790. He used the HBC archives for information on the company's historic search for the mines. He apparently cross-checked the contents of the Coppermine River narrative (all three attempts) with the reports he had sent to the HBC. Around this time Hearne learned that there now existed several copies of the report for the third attempt, and that all of them contained mistakes. He could have been making reference to the conflicting directions in the Stowe and Grenville Manuscripts, to the heavy revisions made by Douglas to the story of the Dogrib woman, to the similarly invasive revisions to the story of the Chipewyan attack upon the Inuit that appeared in Umfreville's book, to Pennant's misrepresentation of Hearne's findings at the copper mines, or to Dalrymple's mistaken representation of where Hearne had travelled. The last component of *A Journey* Hearne devised was the preface, and internal evidence suggests that he wrote it in quick succession to the introduction.

By late 1792 Hearne experienced acute health problems. His illness was sufficiently serious to motivate him to create a will and to find a publisher for his life's work within a short time. He signed a contract with Andrew Strahan to publish *A Journey*. The combination of evidence from the biographical, bibliographical, and internal approaches points to Samuel Hearne as the creator of the text belonging to *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*.

In this thesis I have demonstrated not only that Hearne possessed the capability of creating *A Journey*, but that he did indeed write it. There are a number of points deriving from this conclusion. First, scholars who use published documentary evidence as primary source material must consider the means of production as an elemental part of their work. They should examine the roles of the author, editor, and publisher. They should reflect upon why the document (in both unpublished and published forms) was created, and how this reason affects its content. For example, when Hearne originally took notes on his journey he intended to convey information about his route and possible business opportunities, but when he decided to publish his story, he condensed some of the details from his notes and included additional information he believed would appeal to the general public. Where possible, scholars should also explore how the information is altered during the stages of composition. As in the case of the Coppermine River narrative, how Hearne presented the information, as well as what he selected to share with his readers, varied in each stage. Lastly, scholars should be prepared to develop a methodology appropriate to a document's unique qualities. Indeed, this challenge will encourage scholarly innovation, and thus imbue the practice of documentary history with new vitality.

Second, though Hearne is responsible for the majority of the content in *A Journey*, scholars should still treat his observations about the Chipewyan with caution. He interpreted what he saw according to his own male, European, eighteenth-century perspective of the world: filters that cloud the imagery in his written descriptions. It is also important to recognize that while Hearne covered a wide range of cultural topics, he may have decided against discussing some topics (either he did not find them to be of sufficient interest or he believed they would not interest his readers). It is reasonable to assume that he was not privy to all aspects of Chipewyan culture. Furthermore, as I demonstrated previously in my master's thesis as well as in this dissertation, during the long process of composition Hearne embellished and polished many aspects of his story, including cultural images. The joint processes of accessing, selecting, and interpreting information about the Chipewyan unquestionably affects Hearne's descriptions.

There is further work to be done concerning the genesis of Hearne's account, as well as the validity of his observations, particularly regarding the Chipewyan. The identities of the persons who transcribed the Stowe MS and the E.2/9 excerpt remain a mystery. I have not explored the history of Hearne's maps, and it may be that this history could add to what is currently known about the creation of *A Journey*. Clearly there is room for more research into the role of Hearne's publisher, Andrew Strahan. The identity of the editor of *A Journey* has yet to be confirmed. One could also study how the text continued to transform after its initial publication in 1795. Ian Maclaren has documented some textual differences among subsequent editions, but no one has attempted to search for excerpts of the account in books post-dating 1795.[1] According to historian Harold A. Innis, popular books that concerned voyages, travels, history, and natural history, often reappeared in compilation volumes. The authors of the material in such books went unmentioned.[2] In terms of Hearne's cultural observations, particularly those that describe gender relations, there is reason to suspect that these descriptions may reflect Native trading families (Cree and Chipewyan) specifically, rather than the Chipewyan generally. Hearne's descriptions of the Chipewyan derive largely from his experiences among prominent trading families, not those Chipewyan who chose a more limited interaction with the fur-trade. Furthermore, a preliminary study of HBCA materials points to similarities between the dynamics of Cree and Chipewyan trading families. This could be a potentially intriguing line of study because it would explore the varying influences of ethnicity, gender, and economics upon shaping family dynamics. Once the bibliographic nature of journals like Samuel Hearne's has been established, the value of these early Canadian texts to historians and anthropologists is limited only by the nature of their questions.

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[1] Ian S. MacLaren, "Notes on Samuel Hearne's *Journey* from a Bibliographic Perspective."

[2] Harold A. Innis, "The English Publishing Trade in the Eighteenth Century," *Manitoba Arts Review* 4.4 (1945), 19-20. The Glenbow Archives possesses an example of an excerpt of the Coppermine River account in an undated compilation volume titled *Melancholy Disaster of His Majesty's Ship The Guardian...Also An Account of An Indian Woman &c.* (London: Printed for Thomas Tegg). Though the majority of this volume

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borrows material from Cook's *Voyages*, the Hearne excerpt about the lone Dogrib woman is as he described it in *A Journey* rather than as Cook's editor, John Douglas, printed it in the introduction to *Voyages*.

EPILOGUE

COMPLETING THE JOURNEY: HEARNE'S MANUSCRIPT IN THE HANDS OF HIS PUBLISHERS

There is one further stage of transformation that the Coppermine River narrative and the other components of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* underwent before the book's release in 1795. I thought it appropriate to end this historical and bibliographic journey with a brief examination of this last stage. This epilogue represents a preliminary attempt to understand the impact the publisher and possibly an editor had on the text and style of Hearne's manuscript. It is based on secondary information; future research into the sources of these observations is required if one is to move beyond conjecture.

Once Hearne was satisfied with his work, he sought publishers, a task he appears to have begun in 1792. William Wales, whom Hearne had met more than twenty years prior when Wales came to Churchill to observe the transit of Venus, served as a witness to the publishing contract on 8 October 1792. The contract was also signed by Andrew Strahan and Thomas Cadell, a publishing and bookselling partnership.[1] However, after Hearne submitted his manuscript for publication, it was three more years before it appeared in the public realm.

Why the publishers held on to Hearne's manuscript for so long, and what they may have done to it during this time, remains a subject of considerable debate. Some scholars, such as Ian MacLaren and myself (at the time I wrote my master's thesis), believed that Hearne's publishers were responsible for adding the Gothic and gendered imagery.[2]

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[1] Richard Glover, "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* (1958), xlii-xliii.

[2] MacLaren stated that "[b]oth in Hearne's lifetime and after his death, the manuscript that became A Journey was worked on by someone or some people other than Hearne himself." This quotation comes from Ian S. MacLaren, "Exploring Canadian Literature: Samuel Hearne and the Inuit Girl," *Probing Canadian Culture*, eds. Peter Easingwood, Konrad Gross and Wolfgang Kloob (Augsburg: AV-Verlag, 1991), 92; and MacLaren's reference to Gothic imagery is found on pages 93 and 94. In reference to my earlier views concerning Hearne's role and the publishers' role see Heather Rollason, "Studying Under the Influence: The Impact of Samuel Hearne's Journal on the Scholarly Literature About

Others, such as Richard Glover and J.B. Tyrrell, argued that the publishers did little; instead, they stipulated that Hearne had the help of a ghost writer, either William Wales or Bishop John Douglas.[3] There are two pieces of evidence that scholars have relied upon to suggest that someone other than Hearne altered his manuscript at this stage. As a prelude to signing the publishing agreement, Hearne had stated that "anything in reason shall be allowed to the person that prepares the Work for the Press...I wish nothing more than...the Book shall be sent into the World in a style that will do credit both to you, and myself..."[4] It was generally thought, including by myself previous to this dissertation, that these words signified Hearne's acknowledgement that his manuscript required considerable revision before it was worthy of publication, as well as a request that someone make the necessary changes to the manuscript to enhance its marketability.[5] Furthermore, the fact that Hearne did not see his life's work revealed to the public, since he died in November 1792, meant that he could not react to any changes that may have been made to his manuscript.[6] However, these suppositions about what Hearne hoped the publishers would do to his manuscript are based upon the assumption that Hearne was incapable of writing in the style displayed in *A Journey*. As I demonstrated in Chapter 4, Hearne certainly was capable of composing in this style.

Chipewyan Women" (M.A. thesis, Trent University, 1995).

[3] Richard Glover, who favours William Wales, covers the debate concerning a ghost writer for Hearne in "A Note on John Richardson's 'Digression Concerning Hearne's Route'," *Canadian Historical Review* 32.3 (1951): 252-56. He also alludes to the debate in the "Editor's Introduction," *A Journey*, xxx. Others who favour Wales include Mary E. Hamilton, "Samuel Hearne," *Profiles in Canadian Literature*, ed. Jeffrey M. Heath, vol. 3 (Toronto and Charlottetown: Dundurn Press, 1982), 12; Ian R. Stone, "Profile: Samuel Hearne," *Polar Record* 23.142 (1986), 55.

[4] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," xlii-xliii.

[5] For example, Glover argued that one of the reasons it took Hearne twenty years to submit a manuscript for publication was because Hearne had difficulty composing in "correct" English. See Glover, "Editor's Introduction," xlii.

[6] Glover, "Editor's Introduction," xlii-xliii.

In signing with Strahan and Cadell, Samuel Hearne had placed his manuscript in the hands of one of the most powerful and lucrative partnerships in the London book trade. Under the stewardship of William Strahan (Andrew's father) and Thomas Cadell, the two publishing and printing firms jointly had held the copyrights to some of England's greatest historical and philosophical writers, including Edward Gibbon, David Hume, Samuel Johnson, and Adam Smith.[7] This partnership had also helped to publish Captain James Cook's *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (1784), in which the editor, Bishop John Douglas, had printed an excerpt from Hearne's Coppermine River narrative.[8]

Within two generations the Cadell family had built an empire in the London book trade. Thomas' father, Thomas Cadell the first, had owned a bookshop in Bristol and had eventually became involved in the publishing side of the business. In an astute business move, beginning in 1758, Thomas II apprenticed outside of the family's firm in the business run by Andrew Millar, a well-respected publisher. When Millar died in 1767, Thomas II became the sole proprietor of that firm. Thomas I's other son, Thomas III, worked outside of the trade, so Thomas I brought in William Davies as his apprentice. When Thomas I retired in 1793, Thomas II and William Davies merged the two firms.[9]

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[7] Robert W. Burchfield, "Editor's Preface," *A Dictionary of the English Language*, by Samuel Johnson, facs. reprint of the 1755 first ed. (London: Times Books, 1979); Henry Curwen, *A History of Booksellers. The Old and the New* (London: Chatband Windus, 1873), 66; William Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 85.

[8] Cook, James. *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, undertaken by the command of His Majesty for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere...performed under the direction of Captain Cooke, Clerke and Gore...the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780...*. London: Published by William and Andrew Strahan for G. Nichol, bookseller to His Majesty, and Thomas Cadell, 1784.

[9] Theodore Besterman, "Editor's Introduction," *The Publishing Firm of Cadell and Davies: Select Correspondence and Accounts 1793-1836* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), viii-ix; G. Birkbeck Hill, "Editor's Introduction," *Letters of David Hume to William Strahan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), 92; Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade*, 84-85. According to these sources, Thomas I gave two of his sons the same name.

Aside from these internal machinations, it was Thomas II's ongoing relationship with William and Andrew Strahan, a father-son publishing team, that helped his family's firm to grow in size and influence.

During the years Thomas II worked for Andrew Millar, he met William Strahan, whom Millar frequently used as a printer. By the 1780s, Cadell and Strahan regularly brought books into the public realm, interchanging the roles of printer, publisher, and bookseller. Together they could offer to pay authors amounts beyond the means of most other publishers. For example, in 1768 Strahan, Cadell, and John Balfour (of Edinburgh) paid William Robertson Ł4000 for his manuscript, *History of Charles V*. According to David Hume, an author-client of Strahan's, this offer was "the greatest price that was ever known to be given for any book."[10]

In 1738, William Strahan entered the book trade as a printer in Scotland. By the 1750s, he had made a number of successful forays into publishing and had moved to London. Soon thereafter, he managed to attract and hold some of Britains' most popular and respected authors. According to O.M. Brack, there were a number of reasons for Strahan's effectiveness: he ascertained what readers wanted; he paid authors generously for their work; he cultivated business relationships with other participants in the book trade; and he repeatedly enhanced the quality of manuscripts under his consideration by thoroughly proofreading and editing them.[11] Evidence of Strahan's generosity toward authors and his involvement in partnerships, particularly with Thomas Cadell II, has already been presented. It is relatively easy to find proof that Strahan played the role of editor, and that authors generally seemed to appreciate his efforts. For example, in 1759 Strahan had printed for Andrew Millar the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* by Adam Smith. The following year, Strahan proposed to Smith that they make a number of changes to the text in anticipation of a second edition. Smith responded affirmatively, and rather wittily, to Strahan:

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[10] O.M. Brack, "William Strahan: *Scottish* Printer and Publisher," *Arizona Quarterly* 31 (Summer 1975), 188.

[11] Brack, "William Strahan," 186.

> To desire you to read my book over and mark all the corrections you would wish me to make upon a sheet of paper and send it to me, would, I fear, be giving you too much trouble. If, however, you could induce yourself to take this trouble, you would oblige me greatly; I know how much I shall be benefitted, and I shall at the same time preserve the pretious right of private judgment, for the sake of which our forefathers kicked out the Pope and the Pretender. I believe you to be much more infallible than the Pope, but as I am a Protestant, my conscience makes me scruple to submit to any unscriptural authority.[12]

David Hume recounted a similar experience.

Hume's first encounter with Strahan was for the printing of the second volume of the *History of England* in 1756.[13] The relationship changed when Strahan approached Hume concerning revisions for a second edition of the work. In preparation for releasing it to the public, the author and publisher carried on a correspondence that revealed the nature of Strahan's role. On 22 July 1771, Hume suggested to Strahan that "[i]f you have leizure to peruse the Sheets, and to mark on the Margin any Corrections that occur to you, it will be an Addition to the many Obligations of the same kind, which I owe to you."[14] On 18 September 1771, by then well into the process of revision, Hume wrote to Strahan again: "I thank you for your Corrections, which are very judicious; and you see that I follow them for the greatest part. I shall be obliged to you for continuing them as far as your Leizure will permit."[15] Once Strahan and Hume were satisfied with the text, Hume reiterated his appreciation for Strahan's meticulous editing:

> As we are drawing near a Conclusion, I cannot forbear giving you many and hearty thanks, both for your submitting to so troublesome a Method of printing and for the many useful Corrections you have sent me. I suppose,

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[12] John Rae, *Life of Adam Smith*, reprint of the 1895 edition (New York: A.M. Kelley, 1965) 149; as cited in Brack, 189.

[13] Austen-Leigh, 29.

[14] Hill, 213.

[15] Hill, 224.

> since the days of Aldus, Reuchlin, and Stevens, there have been no Printers who could have been useful to their Authors in this particular. I shall scarcely ever think of correcting any more..."[16]

Perhaps the ultimate sign of Hume's respect for, and trust in, Strahan, was the author's decision, upon his death in 1775, to leave his manuscripts in Strahan's care.[17]

When William Strahan died in 1785, his son Andrew took over the business.[18] It was Andrew whom Samuel Hearne approached to publish *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*. In this case, Andrew Strahan bought the manuscript and Thomas Cadell filled the role solely as a printer. Strahan recorded that he had offered to pay Hearne Ł200 for the manuscript, but there is no record that Hearne received the sum.[19] Perhaps he died before Strahan could pay him. If Andrew, who had apprenticed in his father's firm, practised the same policies as his father, then there would be reason to suspect that Andrew influenced the final form of *A Journey*. Indeed, if Andrew had undertaken to revise and polish Hearne's manuscript, this decision could explain why Andrew held on to the text for three years before publishing it. Though, like his father, Andrew gained a reputation of treating authors generously and ensuring the quality of typography, I could find no indication in the secondary literature that he was as interested in editing manuscripts.[20] Indeed, Richard Nels Lutes, who wrote his doctoral dissertation about Andrew Strahan's business, concluded that Strahan preferred to concentrate on the financial side of the business:

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[16] *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J.Y.T. Greig (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 259; as cited in Brack, 187-88.

[17] Austen-Leigh, 31.

[18] The business went to Andrew even though he was the 3rd eldest son in the family. His oldest brother William, was in the printing business, but he had died in 1781. His next oldest brother, George, had joined the church. See Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh, *The Story of a Printing House; Being a Short Account of the Strahans and Spottiswoodes*, 2nd ed. (London: Spottiswoode, 1912), 32.

[19] Lutes, 124.

[20] Austen-Leigh, *The Story of a Printing House*, 33.

> Andrew Strahan was not a great publisher in the full sense of the word, for he devoted only a small part of his means to the day-to-day management of editions, the storage and distribution of book stock, and the sale of individual copies. But Strahan was a great investor. He was highly resourceful at buying and selling copyrights and remainders, planning and financing editions, and advising fellow investors about specific publications and general trade matters.[21]

Strahan's efforts ensured that by 1788 his business had become the largest in the London book trade.[22] As in his father's time, Andrew continued to produce books with Thomas Cadell, his most frequent partner.[23]

Given that Andrew Strahan, rather than Thomas Cadell, seemed to have shepherded Hearne's manuscript through the publishing process, future research into the impact of publishing upon the manuscript should concentrate on the Strahan side of the partnership. At this point, based on Lutes' understanding of Andrew Strahan's typical level of involvement with manuscripts, there are a number of observations I would like to propose concerning the nature of Strahan's role in the production of *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*. First and foremost, Andrew Strahan probably had limited influence on the final form of the text. In all probability, he ensured that the spelling and punctuation was in accordance with house style. Clearly someone changed Hearne's unconventional use of apostrophes and commas to indicate possession throughout the text of *A Journey*. In all of the examples of Hearne's handwriting, he never illustrated the ability to master the conventional practice for this type of punctuation. Someone also made an effort to alter a few of Hearne's spelling preferences; for example, Hearne's consistent preference for "compleat," was uniformly altered to "complete." Strahan probably also oversaw the creation of the content listings appearing at the beginning of each chapter. Whoever was responsible for editing Hearne's manuscript did not embrace the same high standard practised by William Strahan. Within *A Journey* there are examples of spelling inconsistencies and unusual spelling preferences. Only a few pages apart, Hearne used the words "inured" and "enured," when contextually both cases required "inured."[24] Elsewhere, in the chapter on the Chipewyan, Hearne had described in a footnote that fish nets "soked" in water come apart easily and can then be used to make the heel and toe netting for snowshoes.[25] This spelling does not agree with the preference in Johnson's *Dictionary*, a respected reference that was published by William Strahan in 1755. This unusual spelling is most likely evidence of one of Hearne's idiosyncratic preferences, as well as careless editing. As noted in the previous chapter, the example of the contradictory passage relating the number of men who had died from scurvy also indicates limited editorial influence.[26] At this point, it appears that Strahan, or whoever else edited the manuscript, did little to alter the content of *A Journey*; however, further research is required to transform this supposition, however reasonable, into a conclusive and verifiable statement.

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[21] Lutes, 94-95.

[22] Andrew Strahan had the greatest number of printing presses (15) and paid the greatest amount of annual wages (Ł3600). See Lutes, 36.

[23] Lutes, 84. Lutes is careful to note that despite the close association between Cadell and Strahan, they were not full business partners, "in that they never owned part of each other's establishments or published as 'Strahan and Cadell'." Usually Strahan embraced the role of publisher and Cadell, of printer, but not exclusively. See Lutes, 90.

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[24] See Hearne (1958), 80, 86. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, both words come from the same root; however, the word "inure" means to accustom a person to something unpleasant, whereas "enure" is used in a legal sense to indicate that something is taking effect.

[25] Hearne, 211.

[26] Hearne, 294.

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A.6/1-14 London Correspondence Book Outwards - HBC Official, 1679-87.
A.10/1 London Inward Correspondence - General Series. 1712-1816.
A.11/13-15 London Inward Correspondence from HBC Posts - Churchill, 1723-87.
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B.198/a/18 Severn House Post Journal 1773-1774.
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APPENDIX A: HBCA DOCUMENTS CONTAINING HEARNE'S HANDWRITING LISTED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 28 August 1766 (A.11/14 fo 52).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 29 August 1767 (A.11/14 fo 69).

Samuel Hearne, *Speedwell Sloop Journal 16 July to 22 August 1768* (B.42/a/73 fos. 2-21, Churchill Post Journal 1768).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 29 August, 1769 (A.11/14 fos. 120-120d).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 16 February 1770 (A.11/14 fos. 140-140d).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 3 December 1770 (A.11/14 fos. 142-142d).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 28 August 1772 (A.11/14 fos. 174-175).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 26 Aug. 1773 (A.11/14 fos. 204-205)

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 2 Sept. 1773 (A.11/115 fo 156).

Samuel Hearne, *Cumberland House Journal 23 June 1774 to 23 June 1775* (B.49/a/1 fos. 1-32).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 21 June 1774 (A.11/115 fos. 171-172).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 26 June 1774 (A.11/115 fos. 173-174).

Ferdinand Jacobs to Samuel Hearne, 11 September 1774 (B.49/a/1, fos. 11-11d, Cumberland House Journal 1774-75). There are copies in B. 239/a/71 fos. 4-4d, York Post Journal 1774-75, 11 Sept. 1774, but it isn't in Hearne's hand, and in *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, ed. J.B. Tyrrell, (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), p. 124.

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 30 June 1775 (A.11/115 fos. 181-182).

Samuel Hearne, *Cumberland House Journal 8 July to 26 October 1775* (B.49/a/2 fos. 1-19d).

Samuel Hearne at Pine Island Lake to Ferdinand Jacobs, York Factory, 22 August 1775 (B.49/a/2 fo 7d, Cumberland House Journals). Also printed in *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, ed. J.B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), 175.

Ferdinand Jacobs and Humphrey Marten, York, to Samuel Hearne, Cumberland House, sent 25 August 1775, rec'd by Hearne on 4 October 1775 (B.49/a/2 fos. 12d-13, Cumberland House Journal 1774-75). Also printed in *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, ed. J.B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), 183.

Samuel Hearne, *Churchill Post Journal*, 23-26 August 1776 (B.42/a/92 fo 46). Entries for these days are in Hearne's hand.

General Letter from Churchill to London, 31 August 1776 (A.11/15 fo 32d). Postscript is in Hearne's hand.

Copy of General Letter from Churchill to London, 31 August 1776. (A.11/15 fo 37). Part of postscript is in Hearne's hand.

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 2 Sept. 1776 (A.11/15 fos. 29-29d).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 23 August 1777 (A.11/15 fos. 39-39d).

Samuel Hearne, *Churchill Post Journal*, 24-25 August 1777 (B.42/a/94 fo. 46).

Samuel Hearne to Bibye Lake, private letter, 26 Aug. 1778 (A.11/15 fos. 45-45d).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 28 August 1778 (A.11/15 fos. 47-47d).

General Letter from Churchill to HBC, 28 August 1778 (A.11/15 fo 51). Postscript (3 lines) in Hearne's hand.

Copy of General Letter from Churchill to London, 28 August 1778 (A.11/15 fo 55). Postscript (3 lines) in Hearne's hand.

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 29 Aug. 1778 (A.11/15 fos. 43-43d).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 29 [August 1778] (A.11/15 fos 43-43d). List of servants' contracts.

Samuel Hearne, *Churchill Post Journal*, 29-31 August 1778 (B.42/a/96 fo 48). Entries for these days are in Hearne's hand.

Samuel Hearne, *Churchill Post Journal*, 16-18 Sept. 1779 (B.42/a/98 fo 58). Entries for these days are in Hearne's hand.

General Letter from Churchill to HBC 6 September 1780 (A.11/15 fo 74d). 2.25 lines in Hearne's hand. There is no copy of this letter, only a draft (fos 73-74d) and none of it is in Hearne's hand.

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 25 Aug. 1781 (A.11/15 fos. 91-91d).

General Letter from Churchill to HBC, 25 August 1781 (A.11/15 fo 82). Five words in Hearne's hand.

Copy of the General Letter from Churchill to London, 25 August 1781 (A.11/15 fo 88). 5 words in Hearne's hand.

Samuel Hearne, *Churchill Post Journal 1783-84* (B.42/a/103 fos. 1-44d). Entries for the entire journal are in Hearne's hand.

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 25 Sept. 1783 (A.11/15 fos. 99-100).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to Edward Jarvis, Albany, 20 December 1783 (B.42/b/26 fos. 3-3d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to William Falconer, Severn, 23 December 1783 (B.42/b/26 fos. 4-5, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

William Falconer, Severn, to Samuel Hearne, Churchill, 25 December 1783 (B.42/b/26 fos 7-7d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to Humphrey Marten, York, 27 December 1783 (B.42/b/26 fos. 5d-6d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Humphrey Marten, York, to Samuel Hearne, Churchill, 6 January 1784 (B.42/b/26 fos. 8-9d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to William Falconer, Severn, 13 January 1784 (B.42/b/26 fo 10, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Humphrey Marten, York, to Samuel Hearne, Churchill, 13 January 1784 (B.42/b/26 fos.13-13d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to Humphrey Marten, York, 19 January 1784 (B.42/b/26 fos.10d-12d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to Wm Falconer, Severn, Ed Jarvis, Albany, and Jn Thomas, Moose, 20 March 1784 (B.42/b/26 fos. 14-14d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to Humphrey Marten, York, 20 March 1784 (B.42/b/26 fos.14d-15, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Humphrey Marten, York, to Samuel Hearne, Churchill, 9 April 1784 (B.42/b/26 fos.15d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to Humphrey Marten, York, 1 July 1784 (B.42/b/26 fos.16-16d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to William Falconer, 30 August 1784 (B.42/b/26 fos.20-20d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1783-84).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 10 Sept. 1784 (A.11/15 fos. 106d).

Samuel Hearne, *Churchill Post Journal*, 26 August - 1 September 1785 (B.42/a/104 fos. 35d-36). Entries for these days in Hearne's hand.

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 28 August 1785 (A.11/15 fos. 124-125).

General Letter from Churchill to London, 28 August 1785 (A.11/15 fo 115d). Few lines in Hearne's hand.

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 1 Sept. 1785 (A.11/15 fos. 118-118d).

Samuel Hearne, *Churchill Post Journal 1785-86*, 27 March, 24-25, 27, 30 April, 4 May, 20 July and 18 August 1786 (B.42/a/106 fos. 22, 36, 26d, 28, 43-46d). Entries for these days are in Hearne's hand.

Humphrey Marten, York, to Samuel Hearne, Churchill, 24 July 1786 (B.42/b/28 fos.9-9d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1785-86).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to Humphrey Marten, 6 August 1786 (B.42/b/28 fos.10-10d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1785-86; aslo B.239/b/45 fos 21d-22, York Correspondence Book but not in Hearne's hand).

Samuel Hearne to HBC, 17 Aug. 1786 (A.11/15, fos. 126-126d).

Samuel Hearne, *Churchill Post Journal 1786-87* (B. 42/a/108), all but last page is in Hearne's hand. The last page is in the hand of William Jefferson, former Second and new Chief Factor.

Joseph Colen, York, to Samuel Hearne, Churchill, 9 January 1787 (B.42/b/29 fos.1-2d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1787; also B.239/b/46 fos 2-4, York correspondence Book, but not in Hearne's hand).

Samuel Hearne, Churchill, to Joseph Colen, York, 29 January 1787 (B.42/b/29 fos.3-3d, Churchill Correspondence Book 1787; also in B.239/b/46 fos 4d-5d, York Corr. Book, but not in Hearne's hand).